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CARL VAN DOREN, LITERARY EDITOR

CONTRIBUTING EDITORS

JOHN A. HOBSON ANATOLE FRANCE H. L. MENCKEN
FRIEDRICH WILHELM FOERSTER ROBERT HERRICK

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FRAUGHT with vast possibilities is the proposed conference between Sir James Craig representing Ulster, President de Valera, and Lloyd George—if the Sinn Feiners accept. To those Americans who rejoiced in Admiral Sims's violent abuse of all who sympathize with Sinn Fein, the action of the British Premier will doubtless come as something of a shock. Dignify such a rebel rascal as De Valera by negotiating with him? As soon would King George III have dealt with George Washington. Parley with the head of the "murder gang," who, according to the British Government, has been dominating Ireland against its will? It seems incredible, but it is the wisdom of statesmanship even if it connotes defeat for London. Unlike some others, British statesmen are not afraid to take a back track when events justify. They solemnly promised to hang the Kaiser, and never to rest until they had brought to the gibbet Lenin and Trotzky, with whom they are now peacefully doing business. So with De Valera. Lloyd George and Greenwood know well that De Valera speaks for 90 per cent of southern Ireland and that the "murder gang" camouflage is played out, as well as their policy of reprisals and ruthlessness. Hence their readiness to talk business with him. Undoubtedly Irish distrust of Greenwood and Lloyd George will make it hard for De Valera to enter into negotiations, but the parley is devoutly to be wished for and, particularly if General Smuts and others can be drawn into it, has within it the possibility of writing finis to a conflict of centuries which will never be finally ended until the Irish people obtain complete self-determination.

WE are entirely opposed to the sweeping grant of power for which Secretary Mellon asks Congress in connection with the foreign loans. No such extraordinary authority to deal with this subject as he sees fit should be bestowed upon any official. Those foreign loans are a tremendous asset in our hands. Were the Government keenly alive to the possibilities they offer for exercising pressure upon our Allies for peace and economic restoration in Europe it would have utilized its position long ago to the world's advantage. Now, Mr. Mellon asks that there be placed in his hands the entire control of debts amounting, it appears, to $10,141,267,585 and owed to us by nineteen countries for advances during the war—even Liberia owes us $26,000, while Great Britain's indebtedness is $4,166,318,358, France's debt $3,350,762,930, and Italy's $1,648,034,050. The total is half of our war indebtedness. Yet the bill would place in Secretary Mellon's hands the power to accept from any one of these countries the bonds of another country—even German or Turkish bonds could be taken—besides empowering Mr. Mellon or his successors to change the interest rate on foreign bonds which the Government might accept. Senator Ashurst is correct in saying that no one should have the authority indefinitely to delay and defer the payment of interest on the foreign loans. What do we have a Congress for if not to debate and discuss a question of this kind and to assume the responsibility for its correct solution?

THE most interesting effort to introduce a little democracy and self-government into our naval ships has been sternly squelched by Mr. Denby in his removal of Captain Clark D. Stearns of the battleship Michigan, because he had formed a ship's council to take cognizance of minor infractions of discipline and questions of administration. Somebody with the conventional and fossilized naval mind apparently suggested to Mr. Denby that this smacked of bolshevism and so Captain Stearns was dismissed his ship as if he had been guilty of drunkenness or of running her aground or of otherwise misconducting himself. Another captain, it seems, was actually so un-American as to permit his crew to vote as to what harbor the ship should go to for their rest and recreation while the vessel was being overhauled. Ex-Secretary Daniels applauds the action of Captain Stearns and says that he was responsible for making possible this bit of democracy, the ship's council—indeed, he always had a weakness for democratizing the navy. We sympathize with Mr. Denby. If the archaic navy with its medieval customs and traditions is to be maintained, of course, everything that smacks of democracy must rigidly be stamped out; the whole system would collapse and the army's, too, if anybody should assume that those in the ranks are grown-up, responsible, and intelligent men capable of self-government and self-control, and of having a voice in administration. We must continue to carry the navy on upon the theory that all discipline will collapse if our bluejackets begin to think and the autocratic authority of captain and executive officer is modified in slightest degree.

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ONE cannot help liking this man Sims. His London speech, of course, was foolish and improper, but it must be admitted that when he opens his mouth he says something. In this he is unlike many other public men (no, we are not thinking of anybody in particular) who deal in platitudes and generalities. He employs the open diplomacy which we praise so volubly, but practice so little; he has the blunt, vigorous, and savory speech of our earlier America. The incident about his London speech that was least in character was his denial of the correctness of the cabled reports. That seemed like a typical politician's trick, but was apparently merely a smoke screen until he could learn how he had actually been quoted. In his official statement to Secretary Denby he evidently stood by his words like a man, and one can excuse much to an admiral who, after a reprimand, says frankly of his folly: "I spilled the beans. I got what was coming to me." Our Irish friends ought to forgive Admiral Sims, and those with a true Gaelic sense of humor will do so. He has too many of their own characteristics to be regarded as an enemy. Indeed, his most serious fault seems to be not having been born an Irishman.

THE speech of Premier Smuts of South Africa at the second session of the Imperial Conference was in keeping with his reputation as a statesman with a world vision and a conception of the future that transcends the trivialities and rivalries and hatreds of present-day European politics. The burden of the speech was a plea for that most difficult of all things—the use of ordinary common sense in place of tradition in dealing with armaments. General Smuts pointed out that the world had witnessed the reduction of the greatest military empire in history to an establishment of 100,000 men, and continued:

> We cannot stop with the disarmament of Germany. It is impossible for us to continue to envisage the future of the world from the point of view of war. . . . If we were to go forward into the future staggering under the load of military and naval armaments while our competitors in Central Europe were free from the incubus of great armies, we should be severely handicapped and in the end we should have the fruits of victory lost to us by our post-war policy. . . . The most fatal mistake of all, in my humble opinion, would be a race of armaments against America.

General Smuts might have added that an equally fatal mistake would be an American armament race against Britain, but it was not in his province to advise us. Further proof of the stature of General Smuts as a statesman is found in the report that he was instrumental in bringing about the invitation for a conference on the Irish situation; it is said, in fact, that he may take part in it.

IN a letter to the editor of the Los Angeles *Examiner*, John Beardsley, an attorney of that city, has declared the Ku Klux Klan to be an organization whose principles violate the criminal syndicalism law of California, which makes it a felony to belong to an association organized for the purpose of employing, advocating, or justifying violence or terrorism. Of course, many persons had suspected this to be true, but to have it printed right out in a non-labor or non-"Red" paper which recently carried a eulogistic story of the Klan's organization in the West, is another matter. Doubtless for the moment the *Examiner* forgot that its correspondent was speaking of an organization composed of 100 per cent Americans whose sole purpose was to preserve the ancient American rights of "life, liberty, and property" —as the Klan amends the Declaration of Independence—"to inculcate the sacred principles and noble ideals of chivalry . . . the protection of the home and the chastity of womanhood . . . the preservation of American ideals and institutions and the maintenance of white supremacy." The fact that it is unlawful to combat violence with violence has not seemed to occur to many worthy and otherwise lawful persons. Perhaps Mr. Beardsley has started something.

THE Associated Press reports "an enormous demonstration in favor of unconditional withdrawal of the United States military forces in Santo Domingo city," and a letter embodying the protests of the people, addressed to President Harding, was handed the Military Governor by the leaders of the demonstration. Such a protest was wholly to be expected. The terms upon which the United States has agreed to "withdraw" mean nothing less than permanent vassalage for the Dominican Republic which we have illegally conquered. It is entirely characteristic that Washington officials promptly declare this demonstration to be the work of "agitators," and to indicate that no attention will be paid to them. It means nothing, of course, that the venerable Archbishop Nouel of Santo Domingo, all the members of the Supreme Court, and the faculties of the universities took part in the protest. Meanwhile, the two and one-half million dollar loan floated by the United States Military Government of Santo Domingo, and netting interest as high as 19 per cent, has been promptly gobbled up. Who shall say that we are not a beneficent nation, at all times aiming to succor and uplift the downtrodden? But if this obstinate "minority" of Dominicans persists in its unappreciativeness of the blessings we are conferring on them, it may be necessary to reestablish a strict military censorship, as in Haiti, where two editors, Jolibois and Lanoue, have just been sentenced by court-martial to imprisonment and fine for demanding of President Harding the withdrawal of the Occupation.

THE reelection of Samuel Gompers as head of the American Federation of Labor is less significant than the twelve thousand-odd voters that were registered against him; and if those votes had only been cast for a man with a clean, progressive record and a reputation for dependability it would have been a most encouraging symptom. As it is, Mr. Lewis's record is not one to arouse enthusiasm, and the vote in his favor can be regarded as nothing more constructive than a reaction against Gompers and his machine. But as the only important opposition that has arisen since the nineties it is worth at least taking seriously. On the whole the convention was a half-hearted affair and in the vast multiplicity of resolutions there were only a few important questions that were not sidestepped. Russia, peace, collective ownership, Irish freedom, the question of international affiliation, were all treated with extreme reserve; and the convention took a clear cut stand only on those questions that most nearly touched its immediate interests. Its decision to postpone the organization of the steel industry may, under present conditions, have been necessary, but the wording of the report on the question indicated how far astray the Federation went when it supplanted Foster and his committee with men who can view complacently the worst industrial sore spot in the country.

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COLONEL HOUSE, the ambassador at large of the Wilson Administration, has been revisiting Vienna and finds it still one of the wonder spots of the earth, despite its many misfortunes. Its commercial collapse has not been as overwhelming as many predicted, because conditions in Russia have changed the trades routes of eastern Europe, somewhat to the advantage of the Austrian capital. In a dispatch printed in the Philadelphia *Public Ledger*, Colonel House says that the immediate demand in Austria is for union with Germany, and that only French opposition is preventing this. He thinks that a federation between Austria and the states that were formerly united with it would be better suited to Austrian needs temperamentally and economically, but admits that the prospect of this is remote. Therefore, he regards union with Germany as inevitable unless the powers that be devise some means of enabling Austria to continue as a sovereign state.

BY its unofficial report of the shocking condition of the public schools in New York City the Public Education Association in conjunction with various civic organizations has apparently brought to light many skeletons in the Board of Education's closet. The attempt to whitewash the report by saying that only 20 per cent of the school buildings are unsanitary, unhygienic, and unsafe does not seem to make much difference. The users of that 20 per cent will, we fear, not be moved by the safety and cleanliness of the buildings occupied by the other eighty. It has also been shown that since 1914 the number of pupils on part time—admittedly an entirely inadequate procedure for both teachers and pupils—has increased from 4.78 to 10.7 per cent, and the wrangling of the Board of Estimate over school appropriations seems to be a necessary though tedious part of the day's news. The Teachers' Union has started a movement for a thorough investigation of the school system, the findings to be presented to the Governor. Their object is to take the schools out of politics, not necessarily with any reflection on the present Mayor—though the schools are now declared to be in a worse condition than at any time in their history—but simply to remove the chance of a change in educational policy every four years. It seems obvious that this should have been done long ago.

ONCE more the republic has been preserved! And shooting gnats with machine-guns continues to be excellent sport. Miss Eileen Coughlan, employed in the public library at St. John, New Brunswick, decided that she wanted a job in the public library in New York. She was informed by the librarian that such a job, with the seemingly rather inadequate compensation of $75 per month awaited her if she would forsake St. John for these United States. And this she did. But no sooner was she established here than it became perfectly apparent to the Commissioner of Immigration that a great mistake had been made. Was she not a contract laborer, having been sure of her job in New York before leaving the Canadian wilds? Was there not a law prohibiting the importation of contract labor because it upset the labor situation in the United States? And was Miss Coughlan not plainly upsetting the labor situation, by keeping tens of thousands of sturdy, native-born Americans out of work, and filling their places with queer foreigners from Canada? There was but one thing to be done, and the Commissioner of Immigration was not a man to shirk his duty. Miss Coughlan must be deported at once; and deported she has been. Inspector of Immigration J. F. Frayne states with regard to her case that she is at liberty to apply for readmission to this country but not as a prospective employee of the New York Public Library. So now that she has been deported and the law has been upheld, America's labor is safe again.

THE death of Morris Jastrow, Jr., on June 22, when he was but sixty years of age, removes from the field of Semitic studies in the United States one of its most eminent figures and deprives *The Nation* of a loyal and valued contributor. Professor Jastrow united to remarkable learning and scholarly acumen a genuine and progressive interest in affairs, national and international. He wrote impressively on ancient religions and cultures, on modern politics affecting the East, and on Zionism. To the lover of literature he rendered a particular service in his editions of Ecclesiastes and Job, which belong with the most desirable books published in that department of learning in the United States in several years. Erudition like his rarely occurs side by side with such a sense of the vitality of letters.

FOR several years we have heard so much of college endowment drives and the inadequacy of teachers' pay that perhaps it is generally taken for granted that the necessary funds have been universally secured and that professors' salaries, if not lavish, have at least grown to meet the rising cost of living. The recent half-century reunion at Vassar College revealed that its full professors still receive a maximum of but $70 a week, assistant professors approximately $40, and that instructors' salaries range from $1,200 to $1,800 a year—less than the average mechanic's wage. These facts are not new and the moral has always been obvious. But in the case of Vassar, which both academically and spiritually has more than held its own in recent years, it is a particularly distressing situation which calls for prompt and generous public aid.

NOW in the burning middle of the year
The "Follies," "Snapshots," and the "Whirls" appear.
Too stiff for wit, too gorgeous to be gay,
They yet allure the traveler on Broadway.
Nor let the surly critic wag his head
Or call out curses from his stoic bed.
Past cumb'rous jests and ragged bits of rhyme
The dancing girl who dances throughout time
And will keep dancing till the solar glow
Fades in the sky and ends this human show,
Glides through such rhythms in such a glitt'ring train
As Egypt lacked and Persia sought in vain.
Here *Kyra* shames the serpent's sinuous grace
And *Mary Eaton* shows an angel's face;
Here *Alda* leads her iridescent throng,
Germaine is lithe as steel and *Tillio* strong;
And modern nymphs in suave electric light
Rehearse the measures of some Attic night.
Here, too, for laughter, watch the gamin ways,
The easy impudence of *Nora Bayes*,
Or through the antics of her clownish part
See *Fanny Brice* betray a feeling heart.
Such are these shows which the censorious blame:
Not over noble and each year the same,
Yet holding much that once in richer days
Hafiz had sung nor Horace scorned to praise.

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Mr. Untermyer's Revelations

"WHAT can one think of a society," asks a subscriber, "which can read the Untermyer revelations and be so little moved by them?" Well, our American society is hardly hearing much of what Mr. Samuel Untermyer has brought out. Only a comparatively few in New York or vicinity are reading the news with care. The amount of detail telegraphed shrinks with the distance it is sent, and so Iowa today probably only knows that Mr. Untermyer has raised a great cloud of dust and revealed a deal of labor-union and capitalist corruption. Yet every State in the Union should know that Mr. Untermyer by his courage and determination has rendered a great public service, and that his revelations are a tremendous blow at the present economic organization of society. For he has established a number of highly important facts: First, wherever he has probed he has uncovered labor or capitalistic conspiracy, or corruption, or both, always at the cost of the public; second, he has proved the existence of ring after ring and ring within ring all in flat violation of law; third, he has proved that the United States Government has deliberately permitted these rings and combinations in restraint of trade to exist by prosecuting neither civilly nor criminally; and, fourth, he has proved where the sympathies of our courts lie in that every labor rascal whose prosecution he has brought about has been given a jail sentence while every crooked business man has been let off with a fine.

Kept by the Legislature from moving upon Wall Street, Mr. Untermyer has none the less ventured into the very camps of big business. He brought the four fire insurance exchanges to their knees in forty-eight hours with a resultant annual saving of $130,000,000 a year to the real-estate owners of the country. The fire insurance respectables confessed guilt and admitted most scandalous and shameless profiteering. In probing into the affairs of the Mutual Life Insurance Company, Mr. Untermyer obtained a confession from the president that the recommendations of the Armstrong Insurance Commission of sixteen years ago had not been obeyed and that, therefore, stock and bond losses running into millions had resulted and that the president was personally interested in some stocks the company held. In both this company and the Prudential, Mr. Untermyer revealed once more the familiar interlocking directorates and the giving of favors to banks and to other concerns partly owned or officered by officials of the insurance companies. His most sensational revelations related, however, to the way the insurance companies are deliberately retarding the building of homes, by all sorts of tricks such as compelling borrowers to purchase unsalable real-estate assets of the loaning companies, by asking heavy bonuses, etc., and by setting aside only comparatively small sums for mortgage loans in the eagerness to obtain higher rates from more speculative investments.

In brief, the revelations of Mr. Untermyer reveal as conscienceless and unsocial a state of business life as could well be imagined. For the sake of private or corporation profit we behold an economic condition of lawlessness and cut-throat exploitation to give heart to every extreme advocate of social reconstruction who believes that our capitalistic system needs only a little more time to collapse of its own rottenness. Where are our 100 per cent suppressors of radicalism, our Lusks, our Stevensons, and our Palmers? There is more dynamite in a single day with Mr. Untermyer on the warpath than in all the bombs of the handful of crack-brained "reds" who believe in violence. When the Wall Street explosion took place, President Kingsley of the New York Life Insurance Company sent out the most hysterical circular ever published by the head of a great corporation in which he assumed that the explosion was due to a bomb and that, therefore, anarchy had declared war on all America. But what Mr. Untermyer has revealed in insurance companies and elsewhere will afford more joy and more ammunition to those who war on private property improperly intrenched or upon all private property than a hundred Wall Street bombs, because it is a vision of society doing business with the morals of cavemen, a picture of gross economic waste and gross economic warfare. One would be the blackest sort of a traitor to one's country, to American idealism, to believe that this sort of thing is under a modern democracy a necessary part of a sane social organization. It may fester underneath for some time to come, but a cleansing is as inevitable as fate.

Mr. Untermyer, upon whom are now concentrated the redoubled hate and fury of Big Business, has remedies to suggest. He has compelled the Federal Department of Justice, so busy lately in deporting and jailing little, insignificant I. W. W.'s and foreign "Reds," to promise that it will now prosecute civilly and criminally the "prosperous business highbinders" who are so flagrantly violating our Federal and State statutes. He recommends, first, that competitors be allowed to become members of trade associations (presumably something like the German Kartells) under rigid Federal supervision, any unsanctioned associations to be prosecuted; second, taking from our class-conscious judges the right to suspend sentence or to choose between fines and jail in these trade cases; third, compulsory investment of a certain proportion of funds of institutions holding the people's money in real-estate mortgages; fourth, the repeal of the usury laws as to all mortgage loans of $10,000 and upwards; fifth, legislation preventing monopolistic manipulation of fire insurance and controlling other evils, and, sixth, giving the people the same right of appeal in criminal cases as that now possessed by the defendants.

Unquestionably these are excellent suggestions. It is to be noted, however, that they apply chiefly to the purpose of expediting building—Mr. Untermyer's legislative committee is charged only with that—and do not relate directly to the general condition of ill-health of the body politic which he has revealed. Again, it will be observed that his chief recommendation of government-supervised associations is one bound to horrify all who believe in separating business and government—all who think that every governmental invasion of the field of private enterprise is a deadly blow at our American institutions. But it is in that direction of greater business control by the Government that all such reforms are headed at present. Are we not witnessing the passage of bills—with the approval of the packers—to place the great packing concerns under the control and regulation of the Federal Government? Just how far it is true that this is the entering wedge, and that regulation of business inevitably leads to complete government control and ownership, is for each one to decide according to his beliefs.

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Harding's Grave Responsibility

AS far back as January, 1849, Louis Napoleon, then President of the French Republic, proposed to the British Government a gradual naval disarmament. France and Great Britain were at that time the only rivals on the high seas; they were and had been for generations building against each other. It was a wonderful opportunity which Louis Napoleon offered; but the blind perversity of Lord Palmerston prevented. He curtly declined, and England's navalism has gone on ever since at terrible cost to her taxpayers, first against France and then against Germany. Great Britain must now inevitably enter a new phase, rivalry with the United States, unless an immediate agreement is arrived at for gradual disarmament. There is no more pressing question before the United States than whether President Harding shall or shall not be allowed to play the role of a present-day Lord Palmerston.

Never was the road to disarmament more widely opened. In most striking contrast with Lord Palmerston's policy we have Lloyd George saying to the Conference of British Premiers: "We are ready to discuss with American statesmen any proposal for limitation of armaments which they wish to set up, and we can undertake that no such overtures will find lack of willingness on our part to meet them." From Japan, too, come the most surprising evidences of a desire to disarm. In a telegram to the New York *World*, Count Uchida, the Japanese Minister of Foreign Affairs, says: "My opinion on the question of disarmament was fully expressed in my telegram to the New York *World* last January. I now emphatically repeat that Japan is only anxious to cooperate with other countries in the achievement of the noble aim of relieving the nations of the heavy burden of armaments and of establishing a stable peace throughout the world." The Japanese Chambers of Commerce, a semi-governmental organization, have just voted for disarmament and urged their Government to cooperate with other nations in bringing this about. In London Premiers Smuts of South Africa, Hughes of Australia, and Massey of New Zealand, have come out for an international conference on armaments, General Smuts laying stress upon the fact that the boon of disarmament, so wisely conferred upon Germany by the Allies, should not be withheld from the Allies themselves.

What then is keeping Mr.. Harding back? This is what the *World* and advocates of disarmament everywhere are asking. Never was a greater opportunity to serve the world presented, and to lift from tax-ridden peoples everywhere the crushing burden of taxation for preparations for wholesale murder. It is hard for us to conceive how Mr. Harding can hesitate a single second. To few men in a century has any such opportunity been vouchsafed to serve humanity. The country will back him; of that there can be no question. Resolutions from powerful religious and civic bodies are reaching the White House every day, together with hundreds of personal letters. The New York *Herald*, which peculiarly represents the Wall Street point of view, has just abandoned its position of advocating a large army and navy and urges that our appropriations for this purpose be sharply cut in half. There could be no more striking testimony to the readiness of big business to recede in part, at least, from the preparedness folly. Congress itself in response to public pressure is agreeing upon a naval bill with $78,000,000 less for appropriations in it and providing for 14,000 fewer men than the Navy Department has demanded and, in spite of the dictum of Secretary Weeks that the reduction of the army to 150,000 men by October 1 would completely demoralize the service, Congress has voted for the 150,000 men on that date. This is moving in the right direction, but to continue to spend hundreds of millions—our naval bill for 1921-22 is to be $414,000,000—upon ships that are already obsolete is literally a crime against all progress in America.

Again one asks: What is President Harding waiting for? What is the matter with his mind that he cannot at least announce his intention of obeying the spirit of the Borah resolution, about sure of adoption by Congress, and of meeting Lloyd George more than half way? Is it the rigid mind of Hughes which is holding the President back, or the pitiful obsolescence of the mind of Weeks, who declared the very day that Mr. Lloyd George made his statement that this was not the time for the United States to disarm, or the mind of Denby with its cheap jokes about hoping for another war soon, or the military and naval mind of Washington? The military and naval mind remains the same at all times in all places. Here is Bradley Fiske, Rear Admiral retired, heard from once more. Speaking of the situation in the East he says that Congress is now deciding whether "the United States will be led on to fortune or will abandon the fortune to Jellicoe and Japan." "The danger of war," he declares, "reaches its maximum when one of the countries involved in the danger leaves its valuables unprotected from attack." His final statement gives the measure of his mind: "The United States navy must have enough men, or United States trade will fade and die, as it did after the Civil War." Is this, indeed, the kind of stunted mentality controlling Mr. Harding? We do not know, but we shall be compelled to assume that it is if he shirks the issue much longer. The gravest of responsibilities for blocking or advancing the world's progress rests squarely upon his shoulders.

Hints to Homers

IF we were not so busy we might some time establish a bureau which would have nothing to do but point out to our native men of letters certain of the excellent themes which they have left untouched, in spite of much worrying about our literature during the years of the independence of this republic. Busy as we are, now that we think of it, we believe we can find a few suggestions, in honor, let us say, of the Fourth of July. We propose our themes at random, with no order of precedence and no claims as to their relative merits.

For instance, we eagerly desiderate a Negro "Tom Jones" for America, in which a writer with sufficient knowledge will take as hero a black youth from some Southern village or plantation and follow him through extensive wanderings in various sections and cities, showing the various shifts to which he is put for livelihood, and painting the manners of life into which he strays. We want described, of course, no Uncle Toms or Old Black Joes, but those veritable people of dark skins who have inherited the curse of a cruel racial animosity and discrimination and yet in spite of it have preserved, as a race, so much picturesque high spirit combined with so much admirable good nature. The reading world sees our Negro fellows come and go at their particu-

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lar tasks, but has hardly a notion of the actual universe which they inhabit.

The same thing is true with regard to the Indian, who abounds in the story books and in the movies as a ferocious savage and among the literary is beginning to be thought of as an imitable ancestor of our native arts, but who, after all, has something of a racial and tribal life of the sort which makes a rich background for fiction. What really goes on in reservations, where a proud people have been forced to waste away as wards of the Government but where now and then youth and aspiration must be born among the younger men and women to escape this lamentable state? What are the conflicts that go on in the minds of Indians outside the reservations between the old culture of their tribes and the chaos of civilization swirling about them on every hand? That young Indian in Oklahoma (when it was not yet Oklahoma) who used to spout Spartacus to the Gladiators with such fervor—was there anything symbolic or representative about him?

These are our older peoples who have so far had no Borrows, no Herman Melvilles. And there are also the gipsies who drift here and there along our highways, so amazingly keeping intact (or are they?) a nomadic habit which has clung to them for hundreds of years. And the tramps, hoboes, bums, gentlemen of the road—Josiah Flynt did something for them, and Charles D. Stewart, and Jack London, and a writer of our acquaintance is doing what we expect to be a better book than any yet done; but we have no adequate "Gil Blas," much less an adequate "Odyssey." Moreover, to the same general type of literature there may well belong in time a magnificent set of fictive records of our immigrant population. During the whole of our national career the immigrant has been an important part of American life, and of late the diaries and recollection of immigrants have come to form a distinctive branch of our literature; a world of writing, however, remains to be done in the interpretative modes of fiction which shall bring this troubled flood of material into unity and significance.

Here is the opportunity for those robust novelists who naturally run to trilogies. The first generation of immigrants, as a rule, are as they were in the Old World; their lives in the New are but a record of their liberations, and their wounds and disappointments. The second generation, freed from the economic hopelessness of their parents, wallows, as a rule, too heavily in freedom or in comfort to come to much, though its members, too, have their aspects of interest. With the third generation comes some kind of distinctive quality. The tree has been replanted and has learned how to endure the climate and the soil. Nor has this process so limited an application as may at first appear. Among Americans of the older stocks it generally takes a family three generations to travel from the status of frontiersman or farmer or successful mechanic to that of statesman or scholar or artist. Numerous as are the accounts of this process which have been attempted, only Mr. Hergesheimer's in "The Three Black Pennys" has very eminently succeeded. More needs to be done.

To reflect even for a few minutes upon such untouched possibilities is to have a throng of schemes invade our minds in connection with a single branch of literature—epical fiction. To carry the discussion into the drama, the lyric, etc., would be to stretch the line out to the crack of doom. From time to time, however, we shall stretch it.

Pirates: Old Tune But New Words

[Secretary Hughes sticks to his belief that the mysterious disappearances of the missing ships off the Virginia coast are due to bolshevist pirates.—Press dispatch.]

ADMIRAL SAMOVAR has gone upon the sea,
German silver buckles on his sansculotte knee;
The Soviets have sent him out to earn his little fee
As Regular Ruler of the Russian Navee.

Mister Lenin tells him: "Samovar, plow
All the seven oceans with the Soviet prow;
Educate the capitalist sea captains how
To greet the Revolution with a friendly bow."

Mister Trotzky tells him: "Samovar, do
Exactly and precisely as I tell you to.
Choose your seamen orthodox and then imbue
Them with the pretty morals of a pirate crew."

Chicherin he tells him: "Samovar, my boy,
Ply your trade relentlessly and do not be too coy;
Diplomacy will shelter you whatever may annoy—
Samovar, farewell now, we wish you every joy."

Practiced in a few preliminary scrapes,
Samovar sails to the far Virginia Capes,
And there, while the journalistic universe gapes,
He collars in the shipping with jubilant japes.

Cheerfully he confiscates all the yellow gold
Till his happy hatches have as much as they can hold;
The silver and the silk he has suitably sold
To support the missionaries of the Soviet fold.

Women he has treated quite remarkably handsome
And cherished in the cabin for appropriate ransom;
He preserves the little children, and shortly he will plan some
Scheme to add them all to the proletarian sum.

But the naughty mighty men whom he can never teach,
And who if they evaded him would certainly peach,
They are all severely tortured with a bolshevistic speech,
And walk the fatal plank however loudly they beseech.

Now whenever missing vessels do not travel home again
We never merely guess that they are caught out in the rain;
We sadly whisper "Samovar" and pray they felt no pain—
But the Soviets have got them and pursuit would be in vain.

Admiral Samovar has gone upon the sea,
German silver buckles on his sansculotte knee;
The Soviets have sent him to earn his fearful fee
As Regular Ruler of the Russian Navee.

(Happy Secretary who has invented
Admiral Samovar and is contented!
He has laid his judgment on the shelf:
If he scares us much more he will scare himself!)

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The Truth About the American Legion

By ARTHUR WARNER

I. A Super-Government

BY the Constitution of the United States three branches of government were established: the legislative, the executive, and the judicial. In the last two years a fourth has been set up: the American Legion. Organized ostensibly to continue the friendships that developed in the fighting forces and to advance the legitimate interests of former service men, the Legion has grown away from that into a super-government. It gives orders to public officers and is fearfully consulted by them; it is accorded quasi-official standing through the privilege of occupying government buildings, as in New York City where it enjoys commodious offices in the Hall of Records, or in Arkansas where the old State House at Little Rock was turned over to it; it has received from the War Department in advance of publication the so-called "slacker lists," ostensibly to rectify errors, but with possibilities of abuse that can readily be imagined; it has established a censorship of public meetings and by actual or threatened violence suppresses freedom of speech; it is attempting to dictate the instruction in our public schools and pass upon the qualifications of the teachers; although nominally non-political, it has actually sponsored a host of bigoted and repressive laws and policies, impeding the return of the rest of the community to a more normal existence. Elsewhere, we are slowly yet noticeably demobilizing our intolerant 100 per centism, deflating our hysterical super-patriotism. Not so the American Legion, which is attempting to perpetuate the war psychology as its contribution to peace.

This is a curious and a dangerous situation, peculiar to America. In Europe the ex-soldiers are found, generally, with the progressive, not to say radical, forces. Our army, of course, had a unique experience. Half of those mobilized did not get to Europe, and only a part of those who did engaged in actual fighting. None knew the prolonged physical hardships or spiritual torment that so many went through in the European armies. Still, our youth is our most progressive and hopeful element, and our former service men are fairly representative of it. How then explain the American Legion? Simply on the ground that it never was—and is now less than ever—representative of our former service men. From its inception in France, the Legion was more or less distrusted by the rank and file because of the dominance of officer and "silk stocking" elements, while the policies that it has stood for in this country have alienated the great proportion of liberal-minded and law-abiding young men who were its potential recruits. After a short period of mushroom growth, the Legion began to go downhill and has lost probably 25 per cent from its high-water membership, which was never in proportion to its bombastic claims. Its present enrolment is perhaps around 600,000, about one-eighth of the former service men of the country. Its prestige is due to the influential position of its organizers, by which it has gained much attention from the press and been proclaimed to the public as the one Simon-pure ex-soldier organization. It is regarded as the voice of our former fighting forces, when in reality it is only an unrepresentative undertone.

It is time that the public awoke to the facts.

II. The Long, Long Trail of Lawlessness

"To uphold and defend the Constitution of the United States of America; to maintain law and order; to make right the master of might; to promote peace and good-will on earth"—these are among the objects stated in the constitution of the American Legion, but the way the public has become best acquainted with the organization is through its manifold violations of all these principles. It is only fair to say that the Legion is often held responsible for acts that are the work of others. In almost any miscellaneous gathering there are likely to be some former service men. They may be only spectators or may not belong to the Legion, but in case of mob action the real instigators are usually desirous of shifting responsibility to other shoulders, and the newspapers are ever ready to say that the happening was the work of Legion men. Unfortunately, there are so many similar cases for which the Legion *is* responsible that the newspapers and the public are scarcely to be blamed for failure to distinguish. It is also true that the Legion is frequently egged on to lawlessness by yellow newspapers or unscrupulous business interests; but a modicum of persuasion often suffices.

A glaring and authenticated case of violence at the hands of Legion men occurred as recently as May 16, last, when Arthur Clark, editor of the Carpenteria (California) *Herald,* was whipped with a rawhide until his body was swollen with bruises because he had written some articles about the Legion that were resented by the local post, of which he was formerly a member. Mr. Clark was waited upon by a committee of six men, who dragged him to the Legion hall and into a prize ring (one of the attractions!) where he was told that he must cease his articles and print a retraction under a two-column head. The alternative was to put on the gloves for a bout with any member of the committee, the loser to receive fifty lashes with a rawhide. Mr. Clark is small and middle-aged, and knowing that he stood no chance with any one of the husky young men of the committee, he folded his arms and answered: "Well, consider me beaten right now." The ringleader then rained lashes upon him until his body was criss-crossed from shoulders to knees. Five members of the committee were subsequently fined $100 apiece by a justice of the peace, before whom the leader said that while the treatment meted out to the editor had had the approval of the post members in advance, official action had not been taken, as that would have required a meeting with five days' notice. In any event, the post accepted responsibility, declaring that the committee "was not instructed in accordance with the principles of the American Legion," and asserting "regret that we, through our representatives, were instrumental in this expression of violence, and that we desire through this resolution to make amends for the act of the said committee."*

The case of Frederick Reis, Jr., a young lawyer, is similar because he, too, was a member of the Legion—Robert E. Bentley Post, No. 50. Mr. Reis was subpoenaed as a witness in connection with a raid on the headquarters of

* According to information just at hand, the charter of the post has been revoked by the State organization. Such discipline is commendable.

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the Communist Labor Party in Cincinnati. His story was damaging to the Legion and, confessedly because of this, members seized him in Dayton, Ohio, threw him from a high bridge into the mud and water of a river, and went away regardless of what fate might overtake him.

This raid in Cincinnati was only one of many that have been perpetrated upon headquarters of Communists and Socialists. The place was wrecked and the literature was thrown into the street and burned. A suit for damages was brought against the post; but although the essential facts were not disputed, the jury returned a verdict in favor of the Legion. The commander of the post was quoted as saying exultantly: "The verdict is a warning to all that the distribution of seditious literature, and seditious meetings, will not be permitted in Cincinnati."

In the autumn of 1919 the offices of the *World,* a socialist weekly published in Oakland, California, were entered, according to the newspaper's own account, by members of the American Legion, who broke the glass doors, smashed the showcase, and strewed books and papers in the street, setting fire to them.

All over the country in the past two years socialist meetings have been broken up or prevented and speakers have been intimidated or run out of town. The speaking tour in the East of Irwin St. John Tucker in the autumn of 1919 was a series of interruptions, attributed by him primarily to the American Legion. In Bridgeport, Connecticut, where a permit to speak was refused, the assistant chief of police said specifically that the action was taken because of a protest by the Legion. In Springfield, Massachusetts, Mr. Tucker omitted his speech at the request of the chief of police. According to an Associated Press dispatch: "The request of Chief Quilty resulted from an ultimatum given the city authorities on Thursday by Springfield Post, American Legion, that it would hold them responsible for any breach of the peace or demonstration which might result from seditious speeches." Later, however, the city officials repented of so meekly knuckling under to the Legion and invited Mr. Tucker to return and speak. The official *American Legion Weekly* openly boasted that the organization in Providence had prevented Victor Berger from speaking there. Interference with socialist meetings reached such a stage toward the end of 1919 that in December a letter was sent from the national office in Chicago to Franklin D'Olier, then national commander of the Legion, in which it was said:

> In city after city, delegations from the local Legion post would wait on the mayor and tell him that if the meeting scheduled for that town were not called off there would be bloodshed and murder. . . . In other instances Legion posts have banded themselves together to prevent the organization of labor unions, such as in the case of the steel workers in Waukegan, Illinois, and the case of Bogalusa, Louisiana, where Legionaries murdered four union men for the crime of wanting to organize a labor union.

Largely as a result of that protest, probably, Mr. D'Olier issued an excellent statement soon after in which he warned members of the Legion against taking the law into their own hands or interfering with public officials. The statement was excellent, but as has always been true of fine words from Legion officers, it was accompanied by no adequate disciplinary action against offending posts or individuals. Probably less because of admonition than of flagging interest in Socialist-baiting, there has not been so much direct interference with meetings of the party lately, but the custom is far from ended. As this article is in preparation, news comes from Minot, North Dakota, that a lecture by Kate Richards O'Hare, to have been given on June 13, was called off, the local Legion post having passed a resolution that it was ready "to take whatever action is necessary to prevent her appearance to lecture."

American Legion propaganda was undoubtedly largely responsible for inducing a state of public opinion which made possible the refusal to seat lawfully elected socialist members of the New York Assembly—one of the most flagrant violations of constitutional government that "100 per cent Americanism" has perpetrated—but it should be said to the credit of the organization that the National Americanism Commission of the Legion disapproved of it by resolution. Nevertheless, when the ousted assemblymen presented themselves for reelection, the Legion in Bronx County announced its intention to "patrol" their meetings and prevent any "seditious" utterances.

Opposition to the Nonpartisan League and the Industrial Workers of the World, in regions where those organizations are prominent, has been carried on by American Legion members even more bitterly and lawlessly than against Communists or Socialists. It will be recalled that the first conference of the Committee of 48 in St. Louis was almost prevented because Legionaries heard that the Nonpartisan League was to participate. A resolution of protest was adopted by a committee representing all the Kansas City posts, and according to a dispatch from St. Louis to the New York *Times:*

> Five men, each wearing the button of the American Legion, called about noon at the investigating bureau of the Department of Justice, in the Federal Building. They said they had notified the management of the hotels that the Legion would prevent the holding of the convention if the Government should fail to act in the matter.

When more was learned of the character of the Committee of 48 (which contained many former Roosevelt Progressives) the opposition of the Legion was withdrawn, but the original attempt to intimidate the hotels and dictate to agents of the Federal Government remains.

On May 28, 1920, T. B. Kelley, as chairman of the "Vigilance Committee" of Argonne Post, No. 180, Great Bend, Kansas, wrote to George Klein, an organizer of the Nonpartisan League:

> This is to inform you that at a meeting of our post here last night, at which over seventy-five members were in attendance, besides several members of the G. A. R., Spanish-American war veterans, and members of the Great Bend chamber of commerce, a decision was unanimously reached that the Nonpartisan League demonstration would not be tolerated at Ellinwood next Tuesday. We do not desire any violence, and so take this means of informing you of what we intend to do.
>
> A delegation from here, consisting of the above and many more, and of Legion men, and other good loyal citizens from St. John, Stafford, Macksville, Hoisington, Claflin, and Larned will be on hand to see that the N. P. L. demonstration is not put on, as advertised, or in any other way.
>
> If you will inform us that the meeting has been called off, it will prevent the need of our making a trip to your town.

The Nonpartisan League did not press the issue at the time, but in January of this year it resumed its attempt to organize in that part of Kansas. The Salina County post of the Legion objected at once and was supported by the State executive committee. F. W. Galbraith, then national commander, properly ordered the Kansas Legion to call off

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its dogs, reminding the members that their organization was supposedly non-political. Thereupon, the membership organized independently, and on March 12, last, a mob of 200 men tarred and rolled in the grass (cheaper than feathers on the prairies) the State organizer and the State secretary of the Nonpartisan League, while J. Ralph Burton, formerly United States Senator, and Professor Wilson —who were to have spoken for the League at Ellinwood— were "escorted" from the neighborhood. Mr. Galbraith condemned this action and ordered an inquiry, but the investigator whitewashed the Legion with the usual excuse that its members had acted "individually" and "unofficially."

The action of the American Legion in Detroit, when "Big Bill" Haywood planned to speak there shortly after his conviction in Chicago, is a notorious instance of interference with public officers. Mayor Couzens said that Haywood had a right to speak and would be permitted to do so as long as he remained within the law. When David G. Jones, adjutant of the Charles A. Larned Post, No. 1, heard this, he replied, according to the Detroit *Journal:* "Regardless of what Mayor Couzens says, Haywood will not speak in Detroit. At our regular meeting Wednesday night a vigilance committee was appointed for the very purpose of preventing any speech by Haywood in Detroit. He will not speak." What happened subsequently is told in a letter dated September 14, 1920, from James W. Inches, Detroit's chief of police, to Arthur Woods, then chairman of the National Americanism Commission of the Legion.

> A meeting to be addressed by W. D. Haywood in the Arena in this city, which holds five or six thousand people very easily, was very freely advertised, and the American Legion became excited over the matter and held several meetings at which Haywood was quoted as defaming the returned soldiers in bitter language, one remark being that he had referred to them as a "bunch of cooties." Several of the American Legion posts formed a definite plan to storm the Haywood meeting, not to enter into any debate, as you were informed, but to storm the meeting, and a band of music had been hired for that purpose. The cooler and more reliable officers of the Legion, including the commander of the largest post, assured me that there would be over three thousand of the boys in line who would march to the meeting on Sunday afternoon and break it up. They assured me that if the meeting was held there would be bloodshed, and I saw plainly that there would be no way to prevent a clash, so I wired Mr. Haywood at Toledo that, owing to the threatening condition of affairs caused by his remarks concerning returned soldiers, I had prohibited the meeting.
>
> I then, supported by many of the officers of the American Legion, brought about a decision in the Legion to ignore Haywood entirely, and he came here and held his meeting several weeks later.

A dispatch from Lodi, California, to the San Francisco *Examiner*, dated January 28, last, said:

> Called upon the carpet before the American Legion meeting here upon a charge of defacing a picture of President Wilson, which was displayed in the office of their realty firm, Samuel and John Lochenmaier, wealthy residents, have since been ordered to dispose of their property and leave Lodi. The notice was served by Major Garrison, commander of the post.

Of course the Legion has always been keen in the pursuit of anything branded as "radical" or "bolshevist." Thus the People's Church, of Louisville, Kentucky, was compelled to disband because of "economic pressure" brought by the Jefferson Post, which charged John G. Stilli, the pastor, with anarchistic teachings. The "economic pressure" consisted chiefly of visiting advertisers in the church publication and inducing them to withdraw their support. In New Brunswick, New Jersey, a campaign was made against "extremist" newspapers and magazines by visiting all the dealers and getting them to withdraw the offending publications from sale. One of the Legion's most cruel pieces of interference was directed against the Mennonites of Mississippi, because of their German speech and pacifist doctrine. The State convention called upon the prosecuting officers of Mississippi to proceed against the Mennonite settlement and asked Legion members to take lawful steps to prevent its continuance. What lawful steps it was possible for Legion members to take was not indicated. Nor does the Legion disdain to use the cover of "100 per cent Americanism" to attack its rivals. In El Paso, Texas, a couple of months ago, the city council forbade the circulation of a leaflet of the World War Veterans because the attorney for the local Legion post objected to its contents. The leaflet contained the program of the World War Veterans and an appeal for members.

Agitation in the Legion over "pro-Germans" and pacifists has been less pronounced lately than it once was. During and directly after the war whoever thought first to call his opponent "pro-German" won the argument. This reply is now less convincing as a sole answer to an opinion with which one does not agree, while it is again becoming almost respectable to be a pacifist. It must not be forgotten, however, that American Legion opposition was largely responsible for upsetting the concert tour of an artist of international reputation, Fritz Kreisler, in the winter of 1919-20. The New York County organization of the Legion attempted to raise its voice in defense of the violinist by inviting him to play at a concert under its auspices, but pressure from other quarters within the Legion led to the abandonment of the project. Objection by the American Legion to the attempt to revive German opera in New York City led to riots, while efforts to aid even German or Austrian children by American charity have been resisted. When the mayor of Pittsburgh gave permission for a "tag day" for such a purpose, the humane Legionaries of the city declared they would not permit collections, threatening even to patrol the streets with rifles, and compelling the mayor to leave the reviewing stand before they would pass it in the Armistice Day parade.

One of the most recent and in many ways remarkable anti-German outbreaks of the Legion is that in the motion-picture industry of California. The Los Angeles *Times* of May 8 said:

> The American Legion at 8:40 o'clock last night won a complete victory in the first open fight in this country on the German-made film issue, when Hollywood Post, after a day of picketing and rioting lasting more than six hours, caused Miller's Theater to stop its performance of the German-made "Cabinet of Dr. Caligari" and to put on in its place a Los Angeles-made film.
>
> The playhouse, which had started the picture early in the afternoon for a two weeks' run, capitulated only after it had been picketed for hours by hundreds of men in uniform and after the disturbance at its entrance had gone to such extremes that two mob rushes had been attempted, rotten eggs had been hurled, and police and provost guard forces had been reinforced until they numbered thirty-five men.

Ten days later the same newspaper announced that at a meeting of the Loyal American Film League it had been decided to send a representative to Chicago, New York,

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Washington, and other cities in an effort to spread the campaign against German-made motion pictures. According to a reliable correspondent in California "the agitation leading up to this riot [that at the theater] made no attempt to conceal the simple economic motive. About 90 per cent of the Hollywood Post of the American Legion are employed in the film industry, or rather unemployed in that industry." A humorous side of the incident is that "The Money Changers," the American film which was substituted for "The Cabinet of Dr. Caligari," is from a novel of Upton Sinclair!

According to recent information the Legion is responding handsomely to an attempt to use it as a cat's paw to obtain from Congress a prohibitive tariff against German films. The New York *World* comments:

> They [moving picture patrons] will be curious to know why an American art industry which was supposed to be the foremost in the world has to be safeguarded against foreign competition just like shoes or clothes? Are not American movies the most wonderful ever conceived? If they happen to be the most costly, that disadvantage was presumed to be offset by their superior quality. . . . Motion picture production in this country is suffering from inflation, with all the waste and inefficiency that characterizes that condition. . . . Competition from Germany or anywhere else should help instead of hindering its artistic and commercial development.

III. Preaching vs. Practice

Against the Legion's long, long trail of lawlessness there have not been lacking protests from official and influential quarters within the organization, but they have not been backed by disciplinary measures, and commonly have been offset by utterances of a contrary sort from equally important sources. Mention has already been made of Franklin D'Olier's warning against interference with public officers. Unfortunately, almost simultaneously, the *American Legion Weekly* gloated editorially: "Local posts may be said to have established a sharp vigil over the functioning of local government. They are seeing to it that neither sins of omission or commission are permitted to flourish when it comes to matters of law and order and sound Americanism." In the political campaign last autumn, Hugh W. Robertson made an excellent declaration on behalf of the New York State organization of the Legion, concluding: "I doubt if there will be a single open manifestation of force by any American Legion post in this State toward any of the socialist speakers." Capital! But at the same time one finds Wilbur Wright, vice-chairman of the Legion in the Bronx, quoted in the New York *Times* as saying:

> Last year, the members of the Balsom Post, operating with a small force of men, were able to put a curb on disloyal speakers in this borough. We have five thousand Legion men here, and if the State Assembly outlaws these Socialists, it only necessarily follows that they shall not impose their rantings on the good people of the Bronx.

Lawlessness and physical interference by Legion members have apparently decreased in the last year, but this represents less a change of heart in the organization than a tendency in the nation at large away from the violence begotten of the war. The Legion is cutting out the "rough stuff." The methods are changing, but the temper remains; it is expressing itself in demands for laws and policies of repression and suppression.

A second article next week will discuss the American Legion's policies and propaganda, its attitude toward the schools, and its Americanization program.

Revolution (?) in Great Britain

By J. RAMSAY MACDONALD

London, June 7

THE emotions that swayed many of us in August, 1914, have returned to take possession of our "classes," only, this time the enemy has been in our own midst and not across the sea, and he is distinguished by the cloth cap of a miner and not the glossy helmet of a Prussian grenadier. The surface facts are well known to the readers of *The Nation* and need only be sketched. The economic policy of the Allies prevented the revival of the industries of Central Europe, the coal market was limited in consequence, punishment took the further form of a coal tribute from Germany, crash went the coal trade in consequence, and an ultimatum was presented to the miners for an enormous reduction in wages. They declined to accept it and were locked out. After a war, people do not quickly adopt the mentality of peace, and so the lockout became a civil war in the imagination of masses of people. Soldiers were mobilized and all the scenes of the training of Kitchener's army were reenacted in Hyde Park and elsewhere.

In this article I wish to bring into prominence one or two of the most important features of the conflict as seen from the inside. It was undoubtedly regarded by the "classes" as a possible revolution. The war has left us nervous of each other. That great welter of labor that lives in mean streets, crowds every day to mine and factory, remains to all intents propertyless, is, in the heart of hearts of "the others," regarded as a volcanic force that must be humored, or cajoled, or beaten into quiescence. Had the war stirred up these forces so strongly that they could not be controlled? Had they to be throttled, beaten back, met by forces of their own kind? An affirmative answer has long been whispered in clubs and in society, and here at last was the proof that that answer was right. The eruption was upon us. The miners were holding *the community* to ransom: so said those who were busy winding up their profiteering accounts. The miners were defying Parliament: so said the Unionists who had been encouraging Ulster to fight. Here we saw that latent antagonism which is ever in the heart, even when forbidden utterance by the lips, of our present-day society. Its shadow lies black across the path of the reformer and the war has darkened it. It is to divert the course of British politics carrying through years of peace the ugly will of war.

This feeling transformed a purely industrial conflict into one which seemed to be political and constitutional. Our Prime Minister is a great propagandist, but the art of propaganda is not to storm the strongholds of opponents by a clean, straightforward fight, but to overwhelm them by hordes driven crazy by fear and panic. He leads not reason but madness on to the assault. So, the attack upon the miners was a demonstration of the fact that we live not in an age of reason but in an age of propaganda. That is the greatest menace that faces democratic government now—the artful transformation of reality into myth, the peopling of the imagination of men with hobgoblins. The miners' position was clear and simple. They would not accept the wages offered, and, having to fight for a living wage, they wished to get some guaranty that when they returned to work they would have some security that min-

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ing as a whole would be a well-paid trade. Hence they proposed a pool to be got from a flat charge imposed upon every ton of coal raised, but they made it clear from the beginning that if a general decent standard could be secured in any other way they were not bound by their own proposal. The shattered condition of the market made government assistance for a short time necessary, and that assistance they asked for. Such were their claims, and if they had been discussed reasonably, they could all have been adjusted in a fortnight at the outside. But the propagandist came in. Society had to be made to shiver in its shoes. It was all politics; it was bolshevism; it was a dress rehearsal for a revolution. For the first three or four weeks of the dispute not a single miner's claim was accurately stated by the Prime Minister, or Sir Robert Horne, or any of the government controversialists. That is the ominous political method which now keeps governments in office, which wins elections for the coalition, and which determines both domestic and foreign policy. It succeeded only partially and had to be supplemented by and by by offers of a settlement that were unsatisfactory but recognized grievances.

This was a reaction on the other side. In the first place, it gives importance to the very small group of people who are Communists and revolutionaries but who neither in the industrial nor the political movements here are of any consequence. It thus creates the very conditions which it is supposed to dread and the very opinions which it prosecutes. The threatened action of the Triple Alliance was heralded by the Communists as the proof of the opening of a revolutionary stage; when the Parliamentarians and the Communists alike failed on the Triple Alliance, local movements were started to create local strikes with the intention of involving the national unions in the end. The 26th of May was fixed as the day when by local action of this kind the Triple Alliance was to be redragged into the dispute. If the Communists had any following or influence this could have been done quite easily. "Blackleg coal" was boycotted; railwaymen and dockmen were suspended; local strikes took place. But the unions nationally remained immovable. The efforts were kept local and were ineffective. The revolutionary strike did not fizzle out; the match that was to light it never burned. But for the passions roused by government propaganda it would never have been heard of at all.

All that happened was that the Government, unable to use its soldiers because there was no serious breach of the peace anywhere, had to fall back upon putting its own lying statements into the press and upon the hoardings, and prosecute the propaganda of the other side. An outburst of prosecutions for seditious speeches followed, and men rushed upon platforms to defy the Government. Communist wordiness became heroic and so infectious that the police agent became busy. Without being able to take down a speech or to express an intelligent political opinion, he could swear that he heard sedition preached and repeat childish nonsense in proof. At the Mansion House police court the government prosecutor quoted a sentence expressing the desirability of the foundation of a society in which there was economic equality as a proof of a grave seditious intention, and gave it as his opinion that a society which made it a condition of membership that candidates who were qualified should belong to their trade unions came within the scope of D. O. R. A. or the Emergency Powers Act! He had been briefed by a Government that at the time was appointing Sir Edward Carson to sit in the House of Lords as a Lord of Appeal.

Romantic interpretations of simple unromantic events and wild whoops as methods of discussing very ordinary grievances may be the propaganda equipment of governments such as that which unfortunately is afflicting this country at present and stripping it of all the reputation it won during the liberal epoch of last century. But in them and in them alone was there any revolutionary significance in this mining dispute. The Government's policy had knocked the bottom out of the coal trade and the miners were asked to produce for wages upon which they could not live. The miners' executive, however, is a constructive body. It faced the immediate facts and made a proposal—the pool—for overcoming them. So the generals of the owners and the press (the *Times* being a conspicuous exception) diverted attention to the pool, tried to show that it was impracticable, inconsistent with responsibility and economy, and what not, and of course got the Government to back them. It is true that in devising the pool the miners had a constructive idea in mind of far-reaching consequence. They see every day that the private ownership of mines is wasteful and inefficient, entailing loss to the country and hardship upon themselves. No one who knows the mining industry can come to any other conclusion. The artificial boundaries of privately owned workings make scientific working impossible on a large field, mean the loss of millions of tons of mineral, and produce unjust and provocative variations in district wages. So, official commissions, the more enlightened owners, government officials, all agree with the miners that there must be extensive grouping and coordination.

But how is petty ownership, it will be asked, to be squared with that? How are the fears, the "rights," the interests of private property to be safeguarded? Would not this change be the beginning of something very revolutionary and spread in other directions throughout economic society? There is the deadlock. It is the psychology of the fetish of private ownership hugging "rights" that are unlimited and absolute against a growing experience of failure and a dawning idea of the necessity of more scientific management and exploitation. While the psychological struggle goes on, the industrial deadlock becomes more and more complete. Our old methods and relationships are to doom us to eternal disputes between capital and labor, our markets are going, and in consequence the whole of our industrial economy (based so largely upon the export of coal) is being permanently upset and our industrial contacts with the world fundamentally changed. We are in this dilemma: We fear to change our present methods and relationships: they will not produce coal. Politicians and policemen may chatter about revolutionary conspiracies; men of knowledge and insight see that they are faced by a revolution in the evolution of an industry. That is the meaning of what is going on in this country at the present moment. It is nationalization forcing itself like a bud in spring into economic society, not as the product of the revolutionary ideas of miners' executives, but as the fruit of living industrial organization. Until it is dealt with rationally there will be no peace on the British coal field; dealt with by the police it will produce real revolutionary conditions. For the young miner is a man of considerable education and of even more spirit.

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What the Lockwood Committee Disclosed

By RALPH P. TAYLOR

FROM structural steel and bricks to door-knobs and sandpaper every article entering into building construction has been shown to be under the control of merciless, gouging, monopolistic combines, in the course of the investigation which Samuel Untermyer has just concluded before the Joint Legislative Committee of which State Senator Charles C. Lockwood is chairman. The rent-payers and the house-owners have been shown to be the victims of exploitation by band upon band of manufacturers, jobbers, retailers, and contractors, and in addition to this the big financial institutions have been revealed in the act of strangling building construction in birth through their greed for huge bonuses and usurious rates of interest upon loans. The fire insurance interests have also been shown arbitrarily fixing premium rates, sandbagging competitors, and plundering policy-holders.

Everywhere that the searchlight of investigation has been thrown these iniquitous conspiracies have been disclosed, and the results of the inquiry have left close observers wondering what the effect would be of a similar investigation along business lines not related to housing, and if as a matter of fact the same rottenness of business conscience would not be disclosed in virtually every other important line of industry. Were it not for the fact that the war-weary world now seeks generally to turn its back upon serious troubles, the disclosures of this, the most thorough public inquiry ever known, would probably cause the country to quake from end to end.

The most ghastly thing about it all is that without a thorough rousing of the public conscience no really satisfactory solution appears at all probable. There have been a few prosecutions and a lot more are promised. Robert P. Brindell, a labor leader convicted of having levied graft, has been sent to Sing Sing for a long term, but the big business men whose hands reached into the pockets of all of the rent-payers in the community still ride about in their limousines and stroll the golf links. Only a bare handful of lesser lights have received prison sentences, and these have been, for the most part, for very short periods due to the mildness of our anti-trust laws. The situation disclosed is one that neither fines nor prison sentences can adequately cope with, and certainly no permanent solution is to be reached merely by sending men to prison.

The following is a summary of general subjects investigated and of the general disclosures relating to them:

Money. Officials of banks and insurance companies who have been trying to lay the blame for the housing shortage upon labor were themselves shown to be primarily responsible for conditions. In utter disregard of the crying need for homes and the large death-rates due to overcrowding many of them refused to make building loans. Many more were making building loans only upon condition that the borrower purchase from them at exorbitant prices parcels of real estate which they had taken in foreclosure proceedings. Others called mortgage loans and diverted investments into tax-exempt securities. Others compelled the borrower to take the amounts of his mortgage loans in Liberty bonds at par when these bonds were selling below par in the market. Other financial institutions and brokerage houses blackjacked builders and house-owners for bonuses of 20 and 33 1/3 per cent, charging them interest on the amounts of these bonuses in addition to the amount actually loaned, and exacting double and triple brokerage commissions.

Bricks. As a result of conspiracies between local dealers who are affiliated with a great national organization the price was boosted 400 per cent, and the entire output was controlled by combines which refused to compete with one another or to sell bricks to builders within the territory of other combines even upon urgent request. Hudson River brick, upon which Greater New York depends for its supply, was disclosed as being under the control of the Association of Dealers in Masons' Building Materials, whose so-called Builders' Supply Bureau kept a check upon all of its members with a view to seeing that all obeyed the price mandates of the big body. The Buffalo brick dealers who control the output for the entire State outside of New York City were shown to have dismantled half of the plants within their territory, cutting production in half and at the same time refusing to ship brick to New York City upon the ground that they had "none to spare."

Steel. The mighty steel interests of the nation, with their network of associations and leagues, all of which are interwoven and dominated by the same men whose fortunes fattened immensely while the community was being despoiled, not only sent prices skyward, but had established a sort of spy system to see to it that all steel used in buildings was handled by "open shop" or non-union labor. They refused to permit any builder to obtain steel unless he acceded to their anti-union demands. They announced some comparatively slight reductions in their prices early this year, following them with reductions in the wages of their employees.

Stone. The various kinds of stone used in building were shown in the case of the City of New York, to which the inquiry along this line was confined, to be in the control of a group of contractors who would not make an estimate to a builder until they had submitted their proposed bids to John T. Hettrick, lawyer, and organizer of their ring. An arrangement with Hettrick distributed the work among them. He would decide which one should get a contract and the price to be asked, and would then cause all other bidders to give estimates far above the figures of the man selected for the job. In this way the stone dealers were able to hold the builder up for any prices they might demand. This combine disbanded upon indictment, and after pleading guilty, each member was fined $5,000.

Cement. The entire cement trade of the country was shown to be in the hands of one big national organization which divided the nation up into districts in which it permitted its members to work without fear of competition. The price was boosted 195 per cent. The big organization, now under indictment for violation of the Sherman Law, established rules requiring all cement to be sold through central clearing stations. If a builder was near the cement plant it required him nevertheless to go to a distant clearing station for his material and pay large tolls for trans-

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portation. It profiteered on delivery, upon the bags in which the cement was placed, and upon every other conceivable item connected with the sale. It also employed spies to watch builders and see to it that they did not buy at any time more cement than they stood in immediate need of, lest some of them should lay in a large supply and thereby fortify themselves against future price boosts. It continues to do all of these things despite the exposé.

Plaster. The sale of plaster in New York City was shown to be controlled by the same Association of Dealers in Masons' Building Materials which cornered the brick market, and its price to the builder depended entirely upon quotations issued by that organization, the sole purpose of which appeared to be to enlarge its own profits by piling onto construction every weight that it could possibly bear. The members of this association were indicted, and some of them have pleaded guilty, receiving $500 fines, while their corporations received fines of a few thousand dollars each. In Buffalo the sale of gypsum, which is the adhesive ingredient of plaster, was shown to be in the grip of one man whose prices strangely conformed with those of the United States Gypsum Company, a concern having a virtual monopoly over the market for the Eastern States outside of Buffalo. The Buffalo man had created four concerns, each of which exacted its own profit from the gypsum before it reached the builder, their aggregate profits being something like 800 per cent.

Lumber. While the price of lumber used in building rose to a great height in the year or two following the armistice, there have been decreases which leave it about 135 per cent above the figures of pre-war days. This is due to the workings of interlocking associations which control every type of lumber used in building construction in the United States. Local associations of dealers in parquet flooring, affiliated in a big national association, effected a 400 per cent price increase. Minutes of the local associations in New York clearly revealed price-fixing arrangements; also that the members were adding considerably to items of labor in their bills, thereby profiteering upon their employees. It was shown that the owner of a house who sought to have work done was required to pay a larger price than the contractor who might go to a member of the association.

Marble. A rock-ribbed combine operating under a discriminatory agreement with labor was shown to be dictating the price of marble in New York City. Its agreement with labor which precluded any independent concern within a radius of twenty-five miles of the city from getting any workmen operated as a club to force all dealers to join the combine or go out of business. Once in they had no option but to charge the prices which the combine fixed from time to time. The members of this combine have been indicted.

Iron. Testifying before the committee an official of the Association of Architectural Iron Workers admitted that when the members of his association were paying $47 per week for the joint services of an inside finisher and helper they were charging their customers at the rate of $144 per week for the labor of these same men, or in other words they were profiteering to the extent of 200 per cent upon this labor item in their bills. He also admitted that where the joint pay of an outside finisher and helper amounted to $16 per day the customers were charged, in accordance with the rules of the association, $36 per day for the services of these men—a deadweight surcharge of 125 per cent. (We have been hearing that exorbitant labor costs were responsible for the cessation of building.)

Roofing and Sheet Metal. Additional charges of 50 per cent over and above the wholesale price of all items were recommended by a price-fixing committee of the Employers' Association of Roofers and Sheet Metal Workers, a combine of contractors in New York City. This additional charge did not apply to jobs where a contract rate was fixed. Before submitting bids on any contract of over $250 the contractors were required to report to the secretary of another organization known as the Roofers and Sheet Metal Business Men's Club and to discuss figures with other men interested in the same job. These men through an agreement with the Building Trades Employers' Association of New York City were enabled to prevent independent contractors from obtaining the services of labor unions—the latter being under contract to work only for the Building Trades Employers.

Pipe Fittings and Valves. In the field of pipe fittings and valves Mr. Untermyer uncovered one of the so-called "open price" associations which have spread over the entire nation, the promoters of which attempt to justify themselves by saying that the Federal Government has urged business men to cooperate. The Pipe Fittings and Valve Exchange was shown to include practically all manufacturers of consequence in the country, who were able through the exchange to make their price increases coincident and universal.

Water Meters. A remarkably powerful combine with strong political connections which enabled it to bar independent meters from the lucrative New York City field was shown in the Meter Manufacturers' Exchange. An agent for an independent meter concern told how he had been fighting vainly for years to get the Board of Aldermen in New York City to approve his meter which had passed all tests, and how he had been told that he must "grease the wheels" before he could obtain approval.

Copper and Brass Fixtures. Another combine, under the auspices of Albert A. Ainsworth, the directing genius of the two preceding monopolies, was shown to be in control of the manufacture of copper and brass fixtures throughout the country, with a clear field in which to charge whatever prices it desired.

Steel Lockers and Shelving. A similar exchange with systems for exchanging quotations and other data upon which prices might be based was shown in this line.

Tubular Plumbing Goods and Tank Fittings. Not only were various plumbing materials controlled by the Ainsworth "Tubular Plumbing Goods and Tank Fittings Exchange," which boosted prices in uniformity, but this was merely the beginning of an exploitation of these articles. From the manufacturers these goods passed to jobbers also organized into a big national exchange, who further inflated the prices. When they passed from the jobbers to the contractors they further became weapons with which the public was bled unmercifully. Master plumbers' organizations both in New York City and Buffalo, the two cities to which the investigation was limited, were shown to have been used by their members as mediums for collusion in the submission of bids. In Buffalo, when four or five members of the combine were considering submitting estimates, they would meet and decide among themselves to whom the job should fall, and that contractor would then be free to force upon the builder any price he chose. Underbidding of other members of the combine was taboo. In New York City the

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big master plumbers were shown to be organized by Hettrick into a ring similar to that of the stone contractors. All bids were submitted to Hettrick who apportioned the work and fixed things so that a contractor could make 100 per cent profit without fear of anyone underbidding him. Master plumbers who hesitated at joining the rig were coerced. Labor representatives were induced by other master plumbers to threaten them with strikes if they did not join. For this coercion Hettrick, one master plumber, and two labor leaders were sent to the penitentiary. Sixteen other members of the combine were given short jail terms.

Range Boilers. Prices of range boilers were shown to have gone up in simultaneous leaps despite the assertion of certain dealers outside of the Ainsworth exchange covering these articles that they were not operating in collusion with it. Legislative lobbying was also laid at the door of the range boiler combines.

Steel Sash. Another "open price" system was shown to be in control of the output of this material.

Sandpaper. Even sandpaper was shown to be in the grip of the Ainsworth price boosting "open price" associations comprised of the big manufacturers.

Faucets. Under the pretext of "standardizing" the manufacture of faucets it was revealed that many cheap grades had been completely eliminated. The sale of the grades remaining in the market was shown to be controlled by a nationwide jobbers' association which deals directly with the master plumbers.

Bathtubs. The old "bathtub trust," supposedly slain by the Federal courts several years ago, was shown to have kicked the lid off of its coffin and to be stalking about in the guise of an "open price" system.

Enamel Ware and Wash-bowls. Strangling of competition with the aid of labor was exposed in the local and nationwide combines ruling the enamel-ware and wash-bowl market. It was shown that a union was prevailed upon by the combines to refuse to instal an independent wash-bowl which was considerably cheaper than the output of the trust.

Traps. Because a particular kind of trap could be installed with very little expense it was shown that the trust brought pressure to bar this trap from the New York City market, and that despite the fact that it had been approved by the authorities neither the Master Plumbers' Association nor the Journeymen Plumbers' Union would instal it.

Copper Tacks. A jump of from 17 to 37 cents in price in four years as a result of tightly locking combines controlling the market was shown in the investigation of this trifling article.

Wire Nails. Not only was it shown that wire nails jumped from $1.55 to $4.50 in four years, but that builders had great difficulty in getting them at all, so thoroughly was the output kept under control.

Stove Pipe. The Builders' Hardware Association was shown to have listed the price on this necessity from $4.85 in 1914 to $11.50.

Sash Weight. A jump to $61 in 1921 from $18 in 1914 was shown in this material.

Hinges. The increase from $3.55 in 1914 to $9.50 in 1921 showed the effect of monopolistic control upon hinges.

Tiling. Several combines control ordinary and mosaic tiling. Evidence showed price-fixing agreements reached in the face of advice by attorneys that the agreements would be in violation of law. It also showed that where workers were paid $15 per day the employers entered the same labor items upon their bills at $25 per day, this being a minimum price set by the association. It was shown that if one member had a dispute with a builder over a bill, or if the builder claimed that the work done was not satisfactory, the builder was required to submit to the findings of a committee from the combine. If he did not, it would use its contracts with labor to prevent him from getting any more work done.

Interior Decoration. Here as in every other case the system of profiteering on labor and connivance in the submission of contracts was shown to prevail.

Electrical Wiring. Similar conditions were disclosed. This commodity was found to be controlled by the same combine which used brick and plaster to exploit the rent-payers and house-owners.

Sand and Gravel. Combines in every large city, with a national organization issuing price quotations and multiplying prices was shown. The Sand and Gravel Board of Trade members were indicted and pleaded guilty to violation of the Sherman Law. They were fined approximately $5,000 each.

Glass. Conspiracies resulting in a boost of from 300 to 400 per cent were shown in the manufacture and sale of flat glass. Other types of glass were not investigated because they do not relate to housing. The big glass plants are members of national organizations with headquarters in Pennsylvania which make a practice of fixing the time when each plant shall shut down and stop production each year. There are two shut-down periods annually, and the plants are closed about five months of the year, all of the employees being thrown out and forced to seek road labor until reopening time. So the manufacturers make sure that there will never be enough glass to break the market.

Fire Insurance. By the formation of big exchanges in the large cities, it was shown that the stock insurance companies had been able to gain control of their fields and to exclude mutual companies which make a practice of refunding profits to their policyholders. Without belonging to the exchange a company could not do business in a big city, and to belong to it a mutual company must agree not to refund profits to its policy-holders within the jurisdiction of the exchange. It was further shown that brokers, in consideration of their signing agreements not to deal with non-members of the exchange, were permitted to charge double commissions. Fire prevention apparatus and automatic fire alarm apparatus was shown to be controlled by trusts which were favored by the exchanges, and were therefore able to get substantial reductions in premium rates for persons using their devices, while equally good independent devices were refused recognition by the exchanges.

Comment on these disclosures might be almost infinite, but it could add little to the damning character of the simple facts and their implications as to the character of American business and the ethics and morality of our "leading" business men. At about the time these hearings were concluded the newly appointed United States Commissioner of Education, Mr. John J. Tigert, announced that he would consecrate his office to waging war with oratory and motion picture "on . . . socialism and all forms of government that do not recognize the rights of property and *the right of genius to its just reward.*" Let us ask the Department of Education of the United States, let us ask the Chambers of Commerce and Boards of Trade of this great country, let us ask the shouters for "100 per cent Americanism," whoever they may be, where they think such education should begin.

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With Bomb and Ballot: The Italian Elections

By EUGENE LYONS

Rome, May 19

ITALY can generally be depended upon for a minimum of consequences with a maximum of tumult and sacrifice. Never was an electoral war more bitter, more bloody, more thunderous than the one consummated on May 15. Every instrument for the expression of popular political instinct, from the bomb to the ballot, was requisitioned into service for this presumably decisive revaluation of national values. Old factional dislikes were sunk into new common hatreds. Unnatural alliances were effected to the accompaniment of trumpet and musket. Polite pretenses of fair play were relegated to the hypocritic past.

Surely the new Parliament, heralded in such wise, the very child of terror and hysteria, should be an interesting—not to say curious—creature. But it isn't. Its physiognomy is approximately unchanged: a few more fierce lines added to the Right, a few bruises on the Left, yet the same general expression, the same irreconcilable passions. Those who seek nothing but diversion from the Italian Chamber (and they are not a few) will find the new arrangement perhaps a bit more to their taste. With swashbuckling Benito Mussolini, renegade Socialist and now Fascisti chieftain, at one extreme and Nicola Bombacci, roaring Communist, at the other, there will be no dearth of excitement. Besides, the new war provinces, despite a campaign of Nationalist terror, have yielded four Germans—among them Toggenburg, Minister of the Interior under the former Austro-Hungarian Empire—and six Slavs. The redoubtable Mussolini even before his election promised fight to the Toggenburgs and Bombaccis alike. Of the former he said, "Let them dare to speak German! Either they shall speak our beloved Italian or keep their mouths shut." And of the subversive Left, "I am told that the Socialists plan to leave the Chamber on the occasion of the first Fascisti speech, which may be made by myself. I just warn them that if they leave they will have no easy job of it getting back."

The election results came through the press slowly, in two tallies. First, the casualty list for election day; a Roman daily, calculating on the basis of partial returns, calls it 40 dead and 100-odd wounded, an estimate which is expanded by each day's news. Second, the list of successful candidates; the best figures available at this writing are as follows: the so-called *Bloc*-of-Order, the anti-Socialist hybrid officially known as the National Union, 266, of whom 22 are Fascisti; the Socialist Party, 125; Popular Party (Clericals), 108; Communist Party, 15; Republican Party, 8. The rest are distributed among the independent candidates of various shades, Social-Reformists, Nittians, Slavs and Germans of the conquered territory. The combined Socialist-Communist strength is therefore 140 as compared with 156 in the defunct Chamber. Of the 156 the Communists had secured the adhesion of 17, so that their loss is 2.

The total number of victims for the preelection period will never be definitely ascertained, but it is safe to place the dead at one thousand and the seriously wounded at several times that number. Such a travesty on the democratic electoral idea as was staged here has few parallels in modern history. There was no liberty of election propaganda and only an attenuated liberty of vote. The Fascisti, in effect the long strong arm of the Government, sowed terror wherever the workers' parties are strongest, sometimes reaping terrible reprisals. The criminal offensive was concentrated in Umbria, Emilia, Tuscany, and other "red" sections.

The job was done thoroughly. *Camions* of Fascisti, armed with revolvers, daggers, hand-grenades, machine-guns, went from town to town—"punitive expeditions," their authors called these raids. As a first step toward establishing the dominion of law in an invaded town the Fascisti proceeded to "resign" the socialist municipal administration. If the sindaco and his council refused they were treated to a dose of lead. The dislodged government was then substituted with a reliable Fascisti-Nationalist group, especially trustworthy in small matters of electoral certificates. The Chamber of Labor, Cooperative, and any other existing labor institutions were then attacked and usually burned down. If the town boasted a labor journal of its own, that was speedily and efficiently crippled. More than one editor died in defense of a paper that no one read. Resident socialist and communist leaders, union heads, propagandists, were attacked in their homes, women and children being shown no special consideration—everything's fair in saving the Patria.

This is not a fictitious town. It has a hundred names and is located in every province in the country. It is Cavriglia in Florence and Fuorigotta in Naples and Radicondoli in Siena and San Severo in Foggia. The peasants and workers, helpless against the machine-guns, nevertheless attempted resistance at a cost of one or more lives in each picayunish town. In the cities, Turin, Milan, Bari, Perugia, etc., the attacks frequently grew into pitched battles. In a few instances the Communists organized counter-attacks, swooping down on a Fascisti local or overtaking a *camion* on the road. Socialist and communist candidates were run out of their districts and kept out under threat of death. Fascisti threats are taken quite seriously. Notaries were intimidated to the point where they refused to witness the signing of candidates' lists. Communist lists were nullified at the last moment on petty technical grounds. Each party provides its own ballots under the Italian law, wherefore communist and socialist ballots were captured and burned in the last days of the campaign, when there was no more time to reprint them.

In the face of this reaction a cry arose among the Socialists for total abstention from the ballot-box. Nor was it the extremist who called for the boycott. The first bold demand came through the columns of *Giustizia,* edited by the pacifist-reformist Prampolini. His thesis, sustained by a great many others, was that sending the proletariat to the ballot at this time was like sending them to war. If we cannot cast our ballots without risking our lives, then let us abstain. The question precipitated hot polemics in the socialist press which was closely watched by the bourgeois papers. Finally the National Council of the Socialist Party met in Rome to decide the issue, with the intervention of the Confederation of Labor. I was present, in the catacomb-like meeting-place of the Street Car Workers' Syndicate, and the stories of Fascisti brutality recounted by some of the speak-

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ers were reminiscent of the German atrocity stories to which we were accustomed not so long ago. The decision was reached to vote wherever it was at all possible to do so, and *Avanti!* published fervid appeals to the voters, branding the abstentionist as a "political scab."

Nevertheless thousands of workers were intimidated into staying home. An average of about 60 per cent of the electorate cast ballots in north and central Italy; 30 per cent in south Italy. These figures are higher than those of 1919, but the increase is due to the big turn-out on part of the middle classes—this was the greatest effort made by the bourgeois forces to destroy the Socialists' political power. May 15 was more quiet than had been expected, yet the story of the day is ugly enough. In Trieste, Ferrara, and other socialist strongholds the Socialists were kept from the ballot by force. Only the most intrepid even tried to vote. In Bari the organized workers went to the voting-places in compact military formation. In Perugia hundreds of socialist and communist voters were driven out of the province on the eve of election. In Rome alone there are now 400 Perugian refugees and in Terni about 250 more. In Orvieto and Ferrara, among other places, a cordon of Fascisti took into its custody all the peasants who were going to the voting centers and destroyed the socialist, communist, and popular ballots in their possession. That the Socialist Party has so nearly regained its former strength notwithstanding the reaction is a true indication of its power. It justifies the party in its boast that in a peaceful vote it would have won 200 seats.

The revolver and bomb superseded all other issues in this strangest of campaigns. Instead of political meetings there was the spectacle of hundreds of chambers of labor ablaze. Giolitti was set upon securing a manageable Chamber of Deputies and did not hesitate to use his dear enemies, the Fascisti, for this purpose. Minus the government aid, the Fascisti would not have succeeded so easily in terrorizing the labor movement. The cooperation between the government forces and the lawless Fascisti was all but open. After each attack on a chamber of labor or a socialist circle, the prefecture proceeded to arrest the socialist and labor heads. In Ragusa, Sicily, for instance, an attack upon a peaceful election meeting resulted in the death of seven Socialists and the arrest of the socialist mayor and several labor leaders. The violence was not limited to Socialists and Communists. All opponents of the Government and the Fascisti got their share—the Nittians, the left of the Populars (Hon. Miglioli, for example).

The bourgeois parties in pooling their strength demonstrated their weakness. The *bloc* is a hybrid galvanized into life by the common fear of the proletarian forces. To form the National Union, Liberals, Radicals, Democrats, Democrat-Liberals, Fascisti, and renegades of other parties temporarily forgot their mutual antipathies. But in the very first sitting of the new-hatched Parliament old enmities will reassert themselves, and Giolitti will once more be a Minister without a dependable majority, assuming he retains his hold at all. In the *bloc* are such incommensurables as Giolitti himself, Benito Mussolini, openly antagonistic to the Prime Minister, Antonio Salandra, who called for Giolitti's head during the war and until a few days ago was waiting his chance to grab power. The Government's play, only partially successful, was obviously this: to include the Fascisti in the *bloc*, thus securing their violent collaboration and to double-cross them on the preferential vote. Giolitti has no particular desire to place his neck under the Fascisti heel, and now that he has exploited them for blood-letting which he could not undertake openly himself will no doubt adopt measures to curb the lawlessness. Already, four days after election, Fascisti leaders, including the national secretary, have been arrested. Either the Government will have to legalize the reaction or crush it.

The reformist elements of the Socialist Party which had left it during the war came out in support of the socialist ticket. Now that the Communists are out they felt it safe to return. The Independent Socialists put out no candidates of their own and called their followers to vote with the official party. The Italian Socialist Union founded by Bissolati, and still going under his name although he died some time ago, also threw its weight with the official Socialists. This support is indicative of the outstanding fact in the socialist movement, namely, the steady drift toward the right. Serrati is still conceded to be the leader, but it is generally admitted that the power is shifting into Turati's hands. On May Day Serrati was the official speaker in Milan, an honor no one thought of confiding to him May Day of 1920. Baratona, author of the so-called unitarian motion at the Leghorn Congress, is said to have resigned from the executive on the ground that the party has not lived up to that motion. Specifically he charges that the reformists have been betraying the discipline promised at that time by their words and acts, but that the party has not ousted them as it had promised to do. A new congress of the party will take place at some date not far removed and it may be safely prophesied that the "right" elements will take control, forcing a fraction at the left into the Communist Party.

The Communist Party is by no means upset over the small number of seats it has won. The reaction was especially strong against it. Besides, being the newest party it has not yet organized well enough for the battle on the political field. One need only remember that there were 40,000 voting-places in Italy and that the Communist Party counts as yet only 60,000 members.

The Clericals retain their strength in the Chamber practically intact. They represent preeminently the middle class, and their whole program tends toward the riveting of the idea of private property. In the industrial field they advocate profit-sharing. Their agrarian plans call for the splitting of the large estates into small holdings. Under the leadership of Don Sturzo in his black gown the party has made a strong bid for votes, drawing its strength chiefly from the agricultural workers.

Contributors to This Issue

ARTHUR WARNER is one of the associate editors of *The Nation*.

J. RAMSAY MACDONALD is one of the leading men in the British labor movement, which he has represented in Parliament many years. He is the author of a number of notable books on labor affairs.

EUGENE LYONS is an American newspaperman who has spent the last year in Italy.

RALPH P. TAYLOR is a reporter on the New York *World* who in recent months has been "covering" the proceedings of the Lockwood Committee.

H. L. MENCKEN, of Baltimore, contributing editor to *The Nation*, is critic at large of American life and letters.

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In the Driftway

A CORRESPONDENT in California sends the words of a recitation used in the primary department of the public school of his town. Every morning the children are "put through" certain exercises, one of which is this pellucid gem of patriotism, entitled Real Americans:

If I am an American,
This is the land for me.
No other country will I love,
America for me.

If I am an American,
I must talk it, too.
If in this fine big land I live,
No other talk will do.

So I'll tell my mother dear,
And tell my father, too,
That in America
We all must as Americans do.

* * * * *

AT the recent King's Levee the Drifter notes that a large and important role was played by His Majesty's Gold Stick in Waiting. Assisted no doubt by the Silver Stick Adjutant in Waiting, the Gold Stick made what seemed to the Drifter more than his share of presentations. The King was further reinforced by the Treasurer to the King and Keeper of the Privy Purse, the Deputy Master of the Household, the First and Principal Naval Aide-de-Camp, and the Comptroller of the Ceremonial Department. The Drifter has always maintained, while not denying that these titles would perhaps not sound well in a democracy, that they are almost indispensable in any well ordered state. His theory of government is in many ways a simple one—the less government the better—but if the time ever comes when he is unanimously proclaimed ruler or chairman or head by whatever name of these or any other United States, he warns his subjects that he will be a very ruler, a king indeed, surrounded by all possible pomp. Gold Sticks in Waiting will rush to do his bidding on every hand; there will be a First and Principal Keeper of each of the Seven Privy Seals, and no less than the First Gentleman of the Bedchamber with his Aide will lay out the Drifter's pajamas at night. No democracy for him! Let there be purple and fine linen, white wine and red, scepters, sovereignty, and salaams; and in hot weather particularly let the Platinum and Ruby Studded Stick in Waiting rise and bear the Driftway to the composing room.

* * * * *

A GROUP of surgeons has just been having some fun with the villagers of a mountain resort in New Jersey. The bone-sawers, having taken a cottage for the summer, put out a sign over the door: "Chiselers' Rest." At once the curiosity of the neighborhood was aroused. Who were these men, what did they do, and what meant the sign? One of the surgeons finally passed the word around that they were a gang of ruffians who gauged everybody who came their way. And that, the village agreed when the occupation of the visitors was finally learned, was no joke.

THE DRIFTER

Correspondence

The World War Veterans' Appeal

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: The men who actually went through Belleau Woods, Flanders, and those other chapels of hell know more about war, the causes of war, and how to disarm than all the politicians, orators, and quasi-statesmen in the world. They also know more about the causes and effects of the late war than some folks care to have them know and talk about.

The World War Veterans are 85 per cent of that class of men. We fought the good fight while the fighting was good, we have kept the faith since the fighting ceased. We look forward to the time when America shall be made right, that she, by sheer force of her moral strength, will compel the barbarous imperialists and financiers of London, Paris, and New York to call a halt to their dastardly intrigues and conduct governments for the general good of all the peoples of the earth and not for their own profits and dividends.

We were born in France, in the trenches, spontaneously, nine days after the signing of the armistice; from then till now our struggle for existence and progress has been a terrific fight and a happy frolic. Today we number not under four hundred and fifty thousand; the membership grows apace.

The friends of ordered progress and human freedom welcome us wonderfully when we find them; we are finding them rapidly. Those who dream of a free Ireland were strangers to us until, in a crisis, we came to their defense; now the young Americans in whose veins flows the essence of the Ould Sod are falling in by the thousands with the World War Veterans and finding there a happy home. Labor in various localities has learned the lesson that the men who fought believe in human labor, and are willing to fight for, not against labor when the correct impetus is furnished. And so on infinitely.

On July 1, 2, 3, and Fourth, A.D. 1921, in the city of Chicago, we hold our second national convention. And just while you are reading about it, let us say to you that if the honest people of America are to play square with themselves and their friends, every labor union, every central labor body, every liberal group, every farmers' equity union, every progressive political organization, every unit that knows where our America is wrong and wants to see her made right under the Constitution, and wants to see the ex-soldier, sailor, and marine who has brains and courage take the lead or furnish the cutting edge in the process of making her right, should get into action immediately, ditch the medieval skeleton-armor he is wearing, fetch along his brains and his heart, or send a delegate who has those things, and help the World War Veterans put actively into operation the causes which will produce the effect desired.

We lads cannot do the job unless you good people fall in with us. We can always use money, counsel, brains, vision. Never a man volunteered that we did not use him to his limit.

Minneapolis, June 15 WORLD WAR VETERANS
By CARL CALVIN, *Temporary National Chairman*

Four Centuries of Onehese

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Still depending exclusively on the dictionary for my material, may I submit to Mr. Mencken the following dated quotations with "one . . . he"?

1477, He herde a man say that one was surer in keeping his tunge, than in moche speking.

1607, When on climeth a high tower or hill, the higher he doth mount, the lesse doth euery thing appeare which is below him.

1650, If one propose any other end unto himself.

1652, At the first falling one's sure to break his neck.

1886, One must do what his own nature prescribes. (This from

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W. W. Story; "a man of rare social cultivation," says the Britannica.)

And may I ask him, first, at what date this "illicit loan-form" was borrowed "from Onebuildinguniversityprofessorese"; second, whether he on his part is prepared to show an example of the use of "one . . . one" earlier than 1665, which is the best my dictionary can do?

As to his alleged sample of genuine American, "One oughtn't never take nothing that ain't theirn," I wonder in what part of our country he has found the indefinite personal pronoun "one" to be vernacular at all. I feel sure that in my own boyhood home, twelve miles from the railroad station, "You don't want to take anything that ain't yours" would have been more normal. I say "anything" because in trying to put myself back in boyhood I feel that so sermonistic a sentence has the tone of a lesson to be recited, and consequently one would avoid the double negative even while one might say "ain't"; I admit that if the sentence were the spontaneous utterance of earnest moral feeling one might have been likely to hear "nothing." Forms like "yourn," "theirn," I believe in as attested by credible hearsay, but they are not part of my own recollections.

As to his giving me the titles of "Rev. Dr.," experience teaches me that one is never safe from having a joke of that sort taken seriously, and that if I do not enter an explicit disclaimer of the titles I shall receive a letter thus addressed, or in some other way find myself receiving the courtesies due to one of the cloth. You can describe a famous man like Mencken as "Duke" or "Baron" without fearing that this will set people to holding him responsible for all the misdeeds of the House of Lords; but when a thing is said about us nobodies, who may have almost any title for anything that anybody knows about us, it gets taken as an introduction.

STEVEN T. BYINGTON

Ballard Vale, Mass., June 15, 1921

Senator La Follette's Great Speech

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Your sweeping condemnation of the Senate for the passage of the Naval Appropriation Bill is hardly just in that you failed to take note of Senator La Follette's heroic, back-to-the-wall, three days' speech, in which he removed every vestige of reason for passing the bill, and also made plain, painfully plain, the outrageous reason why in the face of all justice and loyalty it was passed. It was a great argument, clear, definite, convincing. It is not surprising that some Senators, doubtless for the sake of their peace of mind, refused to hear it. It is surprising that the author of your editorial ignored it.

Deephaven, June 15 ALICE WHITNEY BURTON

[Of course Senator La Follette did well as did others; but our general criticism of the Senate still holds good.—EDITOR THE NATION.]

A Word From Bishop McConnell

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: I have bought and read every issue of *The Nation* for more years than I can tell. For eight years I was in charge of the work of the Methodist Episcopal Church in Mexico. During that time I came to regard *The Nation* as the most effective journalistic force in the United States for preventing intervention. During all these years I have been speaking almost incessantly against Mexican intervention.

I confess that at times I feel an impatience with your impatience in dealing with some problems, but on the whole I find in *The Nation* a moral tonic which I am sure I need. You can count on me to do everything possible to fight against American militarism.

Pittsburgh, June 3 FRANCIS J. MCCONNELL

Books

The American Novel

The American Novel. By Carl Van Doren. The Macmillan Company.

THE literature of the United States is still at nurse, and so American criticism continues to give forth a strong aroma of apologetics. It is necessary, first of all, to convince the somewhat aloof and agnostic reader that the thing discussed is really worth discussing. This spirit broods over all our academic criticism, some of which, when it tackles the depressing question of, say, Longfellow, or Prescott, or George Boker, grows positively lyrical. It even creeps into more artful stuff, for example, John Macy's lone and brilliant book, the Howellsiad of Alexander Harvey, and the present treatise by Carl Van Doren. The nineteenth century was the century of the novel—and if we produced no novels of the first rank while it dragged and snuffled along, then we must throw ourselves upon our sparse poetry, our flabby drama, and our huge stacks, elevators, and Bush Terminals of short stories. Accordingly, Mr. Van Doren addresses himself gallantly to establishing the dignity of the American novel, not so much by direct argument as by sly suggestion. Does he succeed? Well, I can only report that my own respect for that American novel is appreciably greater than it was before I read him. He is intelligent; he is persuasive; he is readable; most of all, he is quite remarkably learned. Here we have something far above and beyond the usual scholastic compilation, by a tutor out of a row of textbooks. The man has read the novels themselves—even Simms's "The Yemassee," Bird's "Nick of the Woods," and Mrs. Stowe's "The Pearl of Orr's Island"—and more than once, describing them, he implants the strange suspicion that this or that ancient tale, for long embalmed as a mere name in a dull hornbook for sophomores, would repay search and unearthing and the lazy devotion of a summer afternoon. For one, I come away with a new curiosity to apply my eye to two of them: Col. John W. De Forest's "Miss Ravenel's Conversion from Secession to Loyalty" and Joseph Kirkland's "Zury." The titles used to make me snicker; they are somehow idiotic. But now I snicker no more.

Mr. Van Doren is the first critic to separate the American novel from the general stream of the national literature. The device makes for clarity. With Irving and the historians cleared away it is easier to examine Cooper and Hawthorne at leisure; with Poe and Emerson put aside, there is elbow-room for the sentimental novelists of the days before the Civil War; with the appalling apparition of Whitman laid, one is able to concentrate upon Howells and Henry James. Having so prepared his field, Mr. Van Doren proceeds to plat it geographically and historically, and the result is a chronicle that relates itself at every point to the gradual development, not only of the mere literature of the United States, but also of the general life of the United States. The book is thus quite free from the usual academic remoteness and bloodlessness. It is a history of ideas, but they show themselves in events, and often they are palpably derived from events. Cooper was shaped by his time; as it changed, he changed, and more than once—a platitude, but too often forgotten. The American dime novel had its origins in historical processes, and they are worth tracing. Howells and Mark Twain represented, in their sharp disparity, a conflict that was remaking the American character. The romantic movement of the later nineties was as much a part of the national history as the Spanish-American War. And the rise of naturalism at the beginning of the new century was a symptom of a change so profound that its nature is even yet much misunderstood. Without burdening his story and making it too heavily "scientific," Mr. Van Doren gets into it a sharp sense of this larger ebb and flow of ideas. His generalizations are cautious, but they are sound. He has

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converted the history of the novel in the Republic from a record of isolated and unintelligible phenomena, which it too often is in the literature books, into a record of a coherent and logical evolution, with even some of the future steps discreetly foreshadowed.

As for his judgments, they are devoid of pontifical dogmatism and usually immediately convincing. His discussion of Henry James is an excellent piece of criticism, for without failing to savor even the least virtue of the artist, he exhibits clearly the fatal artificiality and superficiality of the man. James was a biologist who devoted his whole life to a meticulous and even furious study of the wings of butterflies; that there were also jackasses, hyenas, codfish, Congressmen, lice, cobras, and scorpions in the world apparently never occurred to him. Within his limits he was superb, but so is a humming-bird within hers; we eat, however, ducks. The same air of the myopic don hung about Howells, despite his own belief that he was a daring and revolutionary fellow. He converted his chronicle of life in These States into a sort of pastoral in superior journalese—but he always forgot that the farmer has mud on his boots and a bad stomach, and that pigs smell almost as badly as Slovaks, and that the principal business of a cow is parturition. Both were as un-American as a cathedral or a string quartet. Neither, I believe, is read today. James is studied, but not read; he becomes a sort of superior vice, like the music of Mahler or the painting of Cézanne. As for Howells, the very names of his books begin to fade. The best of him, I believe with full orthodoxy, is in "The Rise of Silas Lapham." Well, put "The Rise of Silas Lapham" beside "The Titan." What, in brief, is the difference? It is the difference between a novel that peeps into the parlor-window and a novel that turns the whole house inside out. The technique of Howells was infinitely beyond the technique of Dreiser; he was, in fact, a craftsman of such surpassing dexterity that he was diverting even when he was downright silly. But the great passions that move and torture human beings in the world were quite beyond his grasp; he never experienced them, and he could not comprehend them.

I incline to think that Mr. Van Doren is a bit too kind to Cooper. The temptation here is very severe, for Cooper remains the one American novelist who is universally read in foreign parts; even Mark Twain is a great deal less known. But I doubt that his standing abroad is quite as dignified as the wide dispersion of his books seems to indicate. His rank, in truth, is much closer to that of Eugene Sue than to that of Flaubert or Turgenev; he is read as a sort of licit dime-novelist, and chiefly by the young. I turn to the first catalogue of foreign books that happens to be at hand. It is in Hungarian, and straightway I find a full-page illustration from "Az Utolsó Mohikán." It represents one Indian melodramatically knifing another; in the foreground, a beautiful white woman lies in a faint. In brief, a plate from a thriller to be read between the pages of the Latin grammar, or behind the barn. I turn to another catalogue, this time German. "Die Lederstrumpf-Erzählungen" are all there, translated variously by half a dozen different hands in four or five editions—but all of them are listed under "Schriften für die reifere männliche Jugend." Alongside them are such things as H. Brandstädter's "Wir fahren zum Grossvater nach Schallehnen," Graf E. von Bernstorff's "An Bord des Panzerkreuzers 'York' rund um die Erde," and Lew Wallace's "Ben Hur." Even Bret Harte is elsewhere.

But this is criticism of Cooper rather than of Van Doren. Mr. Van Doren is generous, but by no means maudlin; he knows Cooper's principal deficiencies, and states them plainly. The general effect of his study of the novel is that of clear light. It is well-ordered, it reveals extraordinary knowledge of its subject, and it is written gracefully and ingratiatingly. In brief, a sound and valuable book—and an excellent overture to the work on living American novelists that is to follow.

H. L. MENCKEN.

Berlin in War Time

An English Wife in Berlin. By Evelyn Princess Blücher. E. P. Dutton and Company.

FOR genuine information of marked historical value we must give high place among reminiscences of the World War to the narrative of Evelyn Princess Blücher, an Englishwoman who was compelled to leave England and all her friends and relatives and to go to Berlin in the suite of the German Ambassador as soon as hostilities began. Her husband, then Count Blücher, went with a heavy heart; though German-born and a direct descendant of the famous Field Marshal of Waterloo, he had never served in the German army, and had lived years in England to which he was devotedly attached. The death of the Count's father during the war gave the Blüchers princely rank and access to the highest court circles, a palace near the Brandenburger Thor, and the historic country estate in Silesia. To the Berlin palace the Blüchers proceeded from the Esplanade Hotel, in which until then (July, 1916) they had shared the lot of other unhappy persons of divided sympathies.

From these several vantage grounds the Princess was able to observe and record in her diary talks with some of the most prominent figures on the German side of the struggle. Pro-Ally throughout, she did not escape questioning by the military authorities and once was ordered out of Berlin on three days' notice which the Princess specially resented because she insists on her own tactfulness and discretion—which rumor, however, belies. None the less, we have from her pen a most vivid picture of the human side of life in Berlin during the great struggle and during the Revolution. She frequently talked with von Jagow, Kühlmann, and others, and the amount of information or misinformation acquired thereby is duly set forth. So, too, with the general lack of public information; the Princess records clearly how shut in and shut off the Berliners were despite the fact that London newspapers were always accessible.

But if she was pro-Ally, the Princess was still unbiased enough to feel the deepest sympathy for the suffering and starving German people and for her friends whose husbands and sons and brothers were daily paying the terrible price of their lives because a weak and silly Kaiser could not hold in check the militarists he had himself helped to make his overlords and masters. It is precisely this quality of understanding and appreciation of both sides which makes this book so valuable. The Princess could score the stupid, blundering officialdom which brought Germany to her disaster, while at the same time grieving over the perishing nation and resenting the Allied falsehoods about the German troops. But most interesting remain her sketches of the individuals she came into contact with. Particularly striking are her two or three meetings with a friend of pre-war days, Sir Roger Casement, while he was in the bad business of trying to make the Irish captives near Berlin foreswear their allegiance, and of dealing with Germany. To her that unhappy man seemed demented; he begged her to assure the world that he was true and loyal to Ireland, "although it will not appear so." He also, with prevision, declared that "they have a hangman's rope ready for me in England."

The Princess Blücher's sound judgment of our unhappy American Ambassador in Berlin is worth reprinting here, because the final verdict of history upon Mr. Gerard is certain not to be very different: "Mr. Gerard, the Ambassador, will be regretted by few. He was a man of disagreeable, tactless manners, and managed to offend every one. In fact, he was not the person to have been chosen to act as negotiator between two hostile Powers at such a critical period of the world's history. Mrs. Gerard, his wife, on the contrary, will be regretted by all of us. With her quiet tact and patience she endeavored to gloss over the many breaches of good manners committed by her incorrigible husband."

O. G. V.

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The New Unionism

The New Unionism in the Clothing Industry. By J. M. Budish and George Soule. Harcourt, Brace and Company.

NEARLY all of the more important students of organized labor in the United States have recognized the heterogeneous character of the American labor movement. Barnett, Commons, Hoxie, to name only those who have made the largest contributions to this field of inquiry, have throughout their writing and teaching emphasized the importance of seeing the differences in trade unions as a prerequisite to an intelligent interpretation of the whole labor movement. Naturally, of course, the criteria of divergencies which each student has employed have varied considerably and have been dictated partly by temperament or taste and partly by historical accident. So the novice will find in this country a mass of literature about trade unions in which separate bodies of organized workingmen have been classified and reclassified with reference to structure, function, origin, economic outlook, internal government affiliation with the American Federation of Labor, and labor strategy. But, in spite of this wealth of written and unwritten knowledge, new students or new contributors feel impelled for one reason or another to amend or extend the existing taxonomies, in the hope that this approach to the problems of trade unionism will lead to a better understanding of them.

The book by Mr. Budish and Mr. Soule adds to the old ones another category—the "new unionism." "New unions" are those "which are conscious of their desire for a new order, and so base their strategy on more fundamental considerations." "They skilfully use collective bargaining, not primarily as a means of gaining material concessions, but as a means of solidifying the workers and retaining victories that will make possible further progress along the main highway." And "their whole tendency is in the direction of training the workers for assuming control of production, and of accepting the social and economic responsibility which such control involves." In the opinion of Messrs. Budish and Soule the new unions prefer the industrial to the occupational structure as a form of organization. Their strategy includes political as well as economic pressure. They assist in sound projects for increasing production—or, in other words, they make the problem of production their own problem. And, finally, they consciously and deliberately turn to direct account such agencies as the labor press, the cooperative movement, and organizations for workers' education, in which the old unionism has been said to have only an indirect and casual interest. While the authors of "The New Unionism" find many of the attributes of this type of trade unionism scattered broadcast over the American labor movement, they apparently conceive it to have reached its most perfect and its clearest state among the group of unions that comprise organized labor in the clothing industry. Their book is, therefore, a description and analysis of the "new unionism" as it exists in the less than ten trade unions in the various branches of the clothing industry.

There are, to be sure, marked advantages in being able to localize the sphere of scientific inquiry within manageable limits. The advantages are also unquestionable if, at the same time, all of the material for investigation that exists inside those limits responds in the same way to the same kind of test. But dangers, unfortunately, lurk in inquiries which rest on such delimitations. And it is by no means clear that the present authors have escaped these dangers. The unions in the clothing industry, while they have much in common by way of outlook and policy, have probably many more significant points of difference than of resemblance. It may, indeed, be that they are all converted to the reality and omnipresence of the "class struggle"; and that they all have before them some clear and conscious goal, in the form of a new order of society. But unless this class consciousness and this clear vision of the future has made them act alike in the past, makes them act alike in the present, and leads inevitably to the same kind of action in the future, their importance in interpreting the labor movement in the clothing industry and in setting it off from the movement elsewhere may be easily overestimated. If, in fact, these unions in the clothing industry are judged by what they have done and by what they are likely to do, they might be found in categories of quite a different mold from those cast in "The New Unionism." It is not meant by this that some are better and others worse, but only that some of them do not fit the pattern into which they have been set.

Much the same type of criticism may be made of the conceptions of "new unionism" itself. It is probably true that there exist in this country trade unions whose policies are rapidly undergoing metamorphosis in the light of more practical conceptions of the place and function of the trade union in modern industrial life. Where these changes are taking place, and they are found outside as well as inside of the needle trades, something akin to a "newer unionism" is developing. It is, however, not yet something which can be specifically labeled and analyzed into its constituent elements. I doubt whether, for example, newer unionism, wherever it may appear, will necessarily be associated with what the authors of this book are pleased to call industrial unionism. Nor does the record make it likely that leadership in the newer unionism will play a "less important role" than it has played in the older unionism. In fact, the reverse has been too often the case. No comprehensive analysis of the rise and growth of what "new unionism" there is in the clothing industry can afford to overlook how important a factor in its growth capable and far-sighted leadership has been. Where unionism is "new" because policies are comprehensive and fundamental, it would be illuminating to correlate the initiation of these policies with the history of the ideas of specific leaders. And when it comes to such matters as the labor press and the cooperative movement, one may wonder whether the new unionism is new at all.

By segregating this small group of unions and by raising the question of their nature, the authors of "The New Unionism" have contributed an additional and important step toward constructing an adequate theory of contemporary trade unionism. But in the face of this service, it is still a question whether more progress will not be made by resolving pretentious categories into empirical ones based on experience where unions are spoken of as strong or weak, effective or ineffective, democratic or autocratic; with officers who heed the desires of the rank and file or with officers who do not. A student of tendencies in the American trade-union movement who should do this would find that new unions are becoming more like the old, and old unions more like the new. In a word, the character of a union is determined by its setting, problems, and leadership, not by its ideology.

LEO WOLMAN.

Ireland Under Henry III and Edward I

Ireland Under the Normans. By Goddard Henry Orpen. Volumes III and IV. Oxford University Press.

TO meet the exacting standard of modern requirements a historian must study the sources for his period exhaustively and critically, must write in an attractive style, must be impartial, and must light up his subject with so much philosophy as will serve to explain the larger relations and casual connections thereof. In the first of these criteria Mr. Orpen's work is faultless; in the others very high. But scholarship now demands something further; the historian is expected to treat life in a large way, including not merely the political but the social, economic, intellectual, and religious interests of a people. It is true that one may select any particular subject; but in general histories of countries and of periods not only the governments but the common people must be considered. In this respect Mr. Orpen may seem to fall a little short of the possible; for, save

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some precious statistics on prices and wages, and some pages on the condition of the church, his work is concerned almost entirely with the officials and the great families of the conquerors. Scant as are the sources for social and intellectual history for thirteenth-century Ireland the reader has a right to expect more than is here offered.

But, this one criticism made, there is little but praise for the way in which the author has dealt with the facts that came within his purview. Long and arduous studies, made longer and more arduous by the interruptions of the war, have uncovered and ransacked a body of new materials in the form of family archives. And with what is intended to be complete indifference of judgment he spreads on his pages the records of the conquest and the results, as he sees them, in part bad and in part good. At this time Ireland was far from completely conquered; many of the native kings held out in the wild lands of Ulster, Connaught, and Munster, and with the invaders waged a constant and devastating war. These invaders, though commonly called Anglo-Norman, came largely, as the author points out, from South Wales; the descendants of one of them, Gerald of Windsor, founding a dozen noble families, including the earls of Kildare, the earls of Desmond, the barons of Naas, the barons of Kerry, the barons of Idrone, the barons of Iverk, and the barons of Knochtopher. Indeed, one long chapter in these volumes is devoted to a history of the Geraldines in Munster.

The church took an active part in the warfare, generally siding with the invaders against the natives. Now and then the church and the nobles would fall out and then the prelates would resort to their spiritual weapons. In one case a bishop wrung compliance with his exactions by going to the tomb of his antagonist's father and solemnly threatening to keep his soul in hell until justice was done. But in general the priest and the ruler found it more profitable to agree together to pillage the people, distributing the spoil much in the spirit in which the American protective tariff is constructed—not a sordid word from any of the beneficiaries, but all done in the good old plan of give and take. Only the poor natives suffered, and their feelings were not counted either then or now. Mr. Orpen can hardly forgive some of the Anglo-Irish nobles, who had become *Hibernis ipsis hiberniores*, siding against the royal governor, when in his opinion "had they been true to the interests of their class they would have ranged themselves under his banner" and, by not doing so, put "a blot on the fame of the chivalry of Ireland." Indeed, it was not the government's fault if the nobles were insufficiently class-conscious, for the king tried to foster their loyalty by throwing to them the chief fiscal prizes of the country, such as the prisage of wines and the custody of the king's Jews. But the poor were not only harried by raids and crushed by plague and famine, but were smitten with the ban of the church whenever they rebelled. On these occasions the ancient chronicler merely reports that "a multitude of the host of cursed candle-extinguished [excommunicated] people were slain."

While the fundamental defect of the conquest, that the Irish were regarded as an inferior race, prevented any really happy issue, Mr. Orpen shows that as in later India so in medieval Ireland the English rule brought with it some improvements and some prosperity. In 1297 was summoned the first Irish assembly that really deserved the name of parliament, modeled, of course, on the English legislature. To be sure it represented exclusively the immigrant British, and its chief care was to pass laws intended to prevent the Saxon stock from amalgamating with or becoming assimilated to the native Irish. Its second care was to regulate wages in the interests of the employers. But withal under Edward I Ireland attained a degree of order, wealth, and prosperity never before reached. Peace was established through a part of the country; agriculture advanced; towns grew in wealth and population; trade increased, the chief import being wine and the chief exports grain, victuals, and wool. Many of the stately abbeys and churches in Ireland date from this period, for outwardly the Christian communion flourished though inwardly it was sadly in need of reform. There was closer contact with the rest of Europe, stimulating learning and culture.

But all this apparent blooming of the land, or rather of its ruling class, was a growth on a soil poisoned by two elements that destined it to early extinction. In the first place feudalism and tribalism were irreconcilable, and the Irish were as tenacious in clinging to the one as the Normans were resolute in imposing the other. Either to kill the tribal organization or to allow it seemed fatal to the English purpose, for the one course engendered irreconcilable bitterness, the other left a stumbling-block in the path of civilization. Secondly, the racial hatred, continually nourished by the haughty harshness of the conquerors, proved to be perpetual. Nor were the Irish even strong enough to play off one despoiler against another—for the invasion of the Bruces gave them this chance, but they totally ignored it. And while they suffered from the strength of the English barons, they suffered even more from the weakness of the absentee English government. No effective check was put by the kings or by their justiciars on the wanton acts of their vassals. In this situation lay the seeds and roots of much of the tragic history of the next six centuries. PRESERVED SMITH.

Idyl

Pierre et Luce. Par Romain Rolland. Paris: Librairie Ollendorff.

M. ROMAIN ROLLAND has written an idyl, an idyl of love that was "born under the wing of death." The scene is Paris and the time the last winter of the war. The style is extraordinarily limpid and has a fine classical definiteness and frugality. The tone is tender, but with a universal and stoical tenderness that is never tempted into softness or excess. M. Rolland is very close to the simple humanity of the two young hearts who strive

> to build a shadowy isle of bliss
> Midmost the beating of the steely sea.

But he sees beyond their concrete personalities. The difference between Pierre and Luce is more significant than the difference between two individuals. It is a difference between two classes and traditions. Pierre cannot quite liberate himself from the mechanical ideology of his bourgeois origin. He can evade but not escape. Luce, a child of the people, finds in herself no conflict with meretricious nobleness or unnatural servitude. "The implacable power of the herd" can control her action; it cannot confuse her mind. "What I'd like," she says as the Gothas whirr over Paris, "what I'd like is a bit of happiness." And in that cry M. Rolland sees the true spirit of France and of a great, classical tradition of living and of humanity itself. Love and sunshine—these are the things that count. He lets his lovers quote Ronsard. To die on the bosom of one's beloved is happier and more desirable "than to have all the honor of great Caesar or of the great captain Alexander."

In Luce that supreme sense of fundamental values arises spontaneously. How could it arise in Pierre? His origin is against him—the origin and temper of his entire class which has, in every country, subordinated life to a false order and the promptings of nature to a cruel artifice. It is worth while translating M. Rolland's weighty description of the parents of Pierre. "The family was bourgeois and very French. Excellent people, humane and affectionate, who had never dared to think for themselves and, in all likelihood, never suspected that it was possible. Profoundly honest and with a high sense of the duties of his office, Judge Aubier would have rejected indignantly and as a last insult the suspicion that his decisions could be dictated by any considerations but those of equity and the voice of conscience. But the

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voice of his conscience had never spoken, never so much as whispered, against the state. It was, from its birth, an official voice and functioned in identity with the variable but infallible state. . . . Mme. Aubier was as good a Christian as her husband was a republican. As sincerely and as honestly as he made himself the docile instrument of power against all liberty except the official variety, she added her prayers, in all purity of heart, to the murderous supplications formulated during the war in every country of Europe by Catholic priests, Protestant pastors, rabbis, and popes, and by all the newspapers and the right-thinking people of the period. And both, father and mother, adored their children. In true French fashion they had for them a deep and essential affection and would have made any sacrifice for their sake. Yet, in order to act like everyone else, they sacrificed these children without hesitation. To whom? To an unknown god. In every age Abraham has led Isaac to the stake. And that magnificent madness is still the example of pitiful mankind."

What separates Pierre from his family is not so much an exercise of reflection as the spirit of youth which has a natural kinship with the unspoiled and beautiful things of earth. He excludes from his consciousness the bitter knowledge that he, too, will be dragged into the slavery of war and lives with Luce that pure and fresh and secluded idyl which she accepts, despite the madness of mankind, as their profound and immemorial right. For Luce is a child of the sunshine whom poverty could not cripple nor war corrupt. She is innocent but not ignorant, sane and spontaneous. She is at the center of life where there is no artificial subservience or group passion or false, vicarious glory. By the simplest and directest means M. Rolland has made his plain story of these two young lovers a deep and beautiful parable concerning those true goods of human life which a chaotic civilization despises and perverts.

Notable New Books

Civilization: Its Cause and Cure. By Edward Carpenter. Scribner.

An enlarged edition of a book the title essay of which caused much discussion in 1889, when the notion that civilization might be called a disease woke all the complacent and the orthodox. Mr. Carpenter feels that the last thirty years have done a good deal to corroborate his views.

Sikes and Nancy. A Reading by Charles Dickens. With an Introduction by John Harrison Stonehouse. London: Sotheran.

The first published version (privately printed earlier) of the murder scene from "Oliver Twist" which Dickens made for public readings in 1868. A highly interesting item for Dickens collectors.

Liliom. By Franz Molnar. English Text and Introduction by Benjamin F. Glazer. Boni and Liveright.

A skilful translation of the most interesting play produced in America this spring. The printed version contains material cut out for the stage production.

The World's Classics: *Wild Wales.* By George Borrow; *Moby Dick.* By Herman Melville; *A Confession and What I Believe.* By Leo Tolstoy; *Selected English Short Stories.* Second Series. Edited by Hugh Walker. Oxford.

New volumes in one of the most desirable series of books published at a modest price.

Drama

Negro Tragedy

IN a dingy little hall on a side street Mr. Ernest Howard Culbertson began the rehearsals of "Goat Alley," his tragedy of Negro life in a Washington slum. The actors were, with one exception, amateurs—colored working people who gave their time and services for the sake of what they felt to be an artistic expression of the life of their race. The author had no sociological intention; he had no ambition to be a propagandist. He had not even a special interest in the racial problem. He thought that he had come upon an action that has the quality of tragic inevitableness. He thought, furthermore, that tragedy does not reside in pomp and circumstance, but in the profound realities of human helplessness and human suffering, and that poor Lucy Belle struggling to maintain her spiritual integrity in Goat Alley was a protagonist worthy of the sternest art and the largest sympathy.

He built up his action from within. He saw that the Negro cannot yet hope, like the white man, to transcend common standards. He must first reach them. Hence the Negro girl's struggle for her own integrity is not yet the struggle of Nora or Magda—the struggle to be true to herself; it is the struggle to remain true to the man of her real choice. To transcend a necessary order one must first have achieved it. The achievement of social order in the moral sense is therefore the right and necessary aim of the Negro proletarian and the right and necessary theme of a drama dealing with his life.

In the play, as it was originally written, Lucy Belle fights valiantly her losing fight. Loneliness, poverty, ignorance, terror, drive her from disaster to disaster, from one unwilling infidelity to another. But she never wavers in her soul. In her utter confusion and failure she kills the child that stands between her and all her hopes and at once expiates that action with her own death. Neither the subject nor the circumstances were new. But novelty is no mark of fine literature. The motives, the people, the place, the color of life—these were new. Every triangle play is a "Medea." There are subjects that are classical because they are native to the character and circumstances of mankind. Such, in its original form, was the subject of "Goat Alley." The structure was pure and uncompromising. No American play has had a finer or truer moment than that at the end of the second act when Lucy Belle, her lodger lost, her money stolen, her child crying with hunger, consents quietly, yet in such despair, to rent her vacant room to the worthless, ingratiating barber. Hauptmann would not have disdained that quiet moment of rich, tragic implications; Galsworthy would have approved it.

But sociologists and propagandists got hold of the play and are presenting it at the Bijou Theater. They assure one that it is terrible though sanative. Yet they have emasculated its circumstances and its tragic force; they have wrenched the action and prettified the ending. They cry "wolf" in order to attract an audience, but they have pulled all of the animal's original teeth. Unable to conceive of tragedy as moving men, they have attempted to turn the play to the uses of a rather slimy didacticism, thus wronging the author, the players, and the folk out of whose life the play has grown. Mr. Culbertson wrote a tragedy, which is now being turned into a medicine show. But no competent observer will fail to note here the evidence of an effort as serious, as intelligent, as sensitive to the character and quality of what makes tragedy as our recent theater has produced.

LUDWIG LEWISOHN.

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International Relations Section

Two Weeks of Terror in Ireland

THE toll of outrage and terrorism in Ireland is being brought vividly to the public mind by lists published by the *Manchester Guardian* each Saturday for the preceding week. The two lists printed below, from the *Guardian* of May 21 and May 28, show the extent of the slaughter going on from day to day. An asterisk is prefixed to the outrages whose authorship is not absolutely established.

Sinn Fein

Attacks on Crown Forces

May 12. Shots exchanged between rebels and a military patrol at Blackrock Road (Dublin). Five rebel casualties reported.

13. Constable wounded at Cabinteely (Dublin).
Police attacked at Drimuleague (Cork).
Chief Secretary's car fired on in Dublin; Sir Hamar Greenwood was not in the car.
Constable wounded at Cahirciveen (Kerry).

14. District Inspector Biggs ambushed and killed while motoring at Coolboreen (Tipperary) with Miss Barrington, who was also killed.
Soldiers off duty in the streets of Courtmacsherry (Cork) fired on by rebels; one killed and one wounded.
Head Constable Benson shot dead in Tralee (Kerry).
Ex-naval man at Dalkey (Dublin) escaped from four armed and masked men who raided his house and fired on him.
Two Royal Marine Artillery gunners shot dead at Ballymakeera (Cork).
Constable John Kennagh shot dead at Innishannon (Cork).
R.I.C. patrol ambushed at Eskar (Tyrone); one constable wounded and one rebel killed.
Two constables fired on at Rathmore (Kildare).
Police patrol ambushed in O'Connell Street, Cork; one constable killed, three wounded.
Two constables wounded at Kilbrittain (Cork).
Sergeant Coleman shot dead at Midleton (Cork). Two constables killed while going to fetch a priest to him.
Police who went from the barracks to fetch the three bodies were attacked, and one constable seriously wounded.
Three constables attacked at Drumcollogher (Limerick); one killed and one wounded. Relief party also attacked and two of them wounded.
Constable wounded at Tarbert (Kerry).
Six unarmed soldiers attacked near Bantry (Cork); three killed and one wounded.
Troops ambushed at Drumcondra (Dublin); one attacker wounded. Auxiliaries ambushed in the same neighborhood are believed to have wounded three rebels. Seven or more civilians were wounded in these two encounters.
Police ambushed at Blackpool (Cork); one constable killed and three wounded.
Soldier in the Essex Regiment shot dead while doing guard duty at a football match at Bandon (Cork). In the subsequent exchange of shots two aged civilians and a constable were wounded.
Two constables ambushed and wounded near Skibbereen (Cork).
Three rebels reported wounded after firing on police at Drimuleague (Cork).
Three R.I.C. constables fired on at Templetuohy (Tipperary).
Constable Redmond shot dead in a cottage in Dublin.
Police patrol fired on at Spiddal (Galway).
Three hours' battle reported at Castle Donovan (Cork). Some rebels believed wounded; no crown casualties.

15. District Inspector Blake, his wife, Captain Cornwallis, and Lieutenant McCreery (both of the 17th Lancers) ambushed at Ballyturin (Galway) and murdered. Their assailants ordered Mrs. Blake and the fifth member of the party, Mrs. Gregory, to leave. Mrs. Blake refused to leave her husband and received five bullet wounds. A constable was wounded later at the same place.
Two constables kidnapped near Nenagh (Tipperary).
One constable killed and two wounded while leaving church at Bansha (Tipperary).
Police patrol ambushed and sergeant wounded at Cappagh (Tyrone).
Sergeant of the Royal Fusiliers attacked and wounded near Kenmare (Kerry).
Constable wounded at Eden Derry (King's County).
Police fired on at Rathangan (Kildare); two attackers captured.
Shots fired at police and soldiers at Benethen (Clare).
Auxiliary officer fired on at Glenesk (Sligo). One attacker believed wounded.

16. Military lorry ambushed in Dublin; at least eight civilians wounded in the exchange of firing.
Sergeant Ernest Stewart, 2nd Cameron Highlanders, and Kathleen Mulford, aged 60, wounded in Gloucester Street, Dublin.
Police ambushed on the outskirts of Belfast; no casualties.
One soldier killed and one wounded in an ambush at Inchicore (Dublin).
Crown forces in motor fired at in Dublin; a workman fatally wounded by the return fire.
Constable McClean killed and another policeman wounded near Skibbereen (Cork).
Cycle patrol of R.I.C. ambushed at Ballinarea (Kildare). One constable wounded; two rebels killed.
R.I.C. sergeant wounded in an ambush near Pomeroy (Tyrone).
Military motor bombed in Harcourt Street, Dublin.

17. District Inspector Walsh wounded at Dungannon (Tyrone).
Police tender bombed in Andersontown (Belfast).
Military lorry attacked at Grattan Crescent, Inchicore (Dublin); one soldier killed and one wounded.
Military tender fired on near Amiens Street, Dublin; two civilians wounded, one of them fatally.
Royal Marine shot dead near Sligo.
Police car fired on at Drumcrea (Leitrim).
Three constables fired on at Cahirciveen (Kerry); one policeman and a girl wounded.
Two constables killed and two wounded near Birr (King's County).
*William Ryan, an ex-soldier, fired at in Dublin.
One constable shot dead and three wounded near Ballymahon (Longford).

18. *Patrick Dunny, an ex-soldier, taken from his father's house in Inchicore (Dublin) and murdered.
Two special constables kidnapped near Cookstown (Tyrone).
Constable killed and police sergeant wounded in Letterkenny (Londonderry).
R.I.C. surgeon fatally wounded at Newport (Mayo).
Lance Corporal murdered in Cork.

19. Constable killed and R.I.C. sergeant wounded at Letterkenny (Donegal).
Police ambushed at Cahirciveen (Kerry); one constable wounded and a woman killed.
District Inspector McGovern wounded at Wexford.
Constable wounded in an ambush at Emoe (Roscommon).

Civilians Murdered or Wounded

14. Miss Barrington, daughter of a former High Sheriff of county Limerick, murdered with District Inspector Biggs, while motoring at Coolboreen (Tipperary).

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15. Peter Graham, an attendant at the Pavilion Gardens, Kingstown, Dublin, found murdered, and labeled "Convicted spy."
Mrs. Blake murdered with her husband (a district inspector) and two army officers in an ambush at Ballyturin (Galway).
16. *Martin Dermody found dead and Michael Quinn seriously wounded near Kilmanagh (Kilkenny). Both were ex-soldiers.
19. Civilian murdered near Dundrum (Dublin) and labeled "convicted spy."
A bailiff and his assistants fired on at Dromure (Down); one killed and three wounded.

POLICE BARRACKS ATTACKED

13. Drimuleague (Cork).
14. Holy Cross (Tipperary).
Tarbert (Kerry).
Courtmacsherry (Cork).
Rathmore (Kildare).
Clonakilty (Cork).
15. Bridgetown (Wexford).
Rosseare Pier (Wexford).
Foulkesmills (Kilkenny).
17. Ballaghaderreen (Roscommon). A local train was commandeered by the rebels and used as shelter for the attack. A civilian passenger was wounded.
Kilbrittain (Cork).
Kilconley (Galway).
Jenkinstown (Kilkenny).
18. Newport (Mayo).
19. Letterkenny (Donegal).
Cabinteely (Dublin).

OTHER SINN FEIN OPERATIONS

12. Protestant farmer's house burned at Ballydehob (Cork) and live stock driven off. Two other farms near Skibbereen (Cork) stripped of cattle.
14. Fruitless attempt to rescue prisoners from Mountjoy Gaol, Dublin. After capturing an armored car, two of the rescue party secured entrance to the prison in the guise of British officers. They blindfolded and locked the governor and his assistant in their room. A sentry gave the alarm and wounded one of the rebels, and they escaped in the armored car.
Aughrane Castle, Ballygar (Galway), burned down. The castle and grounds were used as a school of forestry by the Board of Agriculture.
Tobacco worth £500 thrown into the Liffey at Dublin by armed men.
Four wagons of a goods train from Belfast to Dublin burned at Newry (Down). Belfast goods worth £7,000 destroyed.
15. Cork male prison attacked for the third time in two months. A patient in a neighboring nursing home died of fright.
16. Wireless station and naval wharf at Kingston (Dublin) attacked.
Military stores burned at Kingsbridge goods station, Dublin.
17. Telephone communications cut between Dublin and Belfast.
Railway wagons containing Belfast goods burned at Sligo.
Two viaducts on the G. S. and W. Railway in county Kerry destroyed.
Four wagons containing military stores burned at Millstreet (Cork).
18. Vacant coastguard station at Poetrado, Killybegs (Donegal) burned down.
Military stores burned at Buncrana (Donegal), and Mullingar (Westmeath).

CROWN FORCES

SHOOTINGS, ETC., BY CROWN FORCES

13. Lawrence Brien fatally shot at Bray (Wicklow) after Curfew.
Three rebels, two of them wounded, captured at Tubrid (Kilkenny) after a fight.
14. John P. Greene, a Kitchener scholar at University College, Galway, and an ex-service man, taken from his lodgings in Galway, shot, beaten, and left for dead. As a sequel to his statement two constables were arrested. James S. R. A. Egan, Health Insurance inspector for county Mayo, also an ex-service man, beaten and shot in similar circumstances. Daniel Gilloury fatally shot at Moymore (Clare) during a round-up of people leaving church.
*James Doyle, an ex-soldier, fired at and wounded near Baltinglass (Wicklow). His premises were burned down last week.
15. Rev. James O'Callaghan, Catholic curate, fatally wounded by armed men in the house of Mr. de Roiste, M.P., at Cork. Patrick Sheehan, a well-known Sinn Feiner, also murdered in his house in Cork.
Daniel O'Brien, tried by drumhead court-martial in Cork on Saturday, executed for being improperly in possession of a revolver and ammunition.
Three civilians killed and one or two wounded in the Midleton district (Cork) by Gordon Highlanders. The official report says that two were killed and one wounded in "attempting to escape" and another killed on running out of a house from which the soldiers had been fired at. The fifth escaped from his escort "believed hit."
16. "While Constables Hart and Tasker were twirling revolvers in their hands the revolvers went off and Hart was shot dead and Tasker mortally wounded." These accidents occurred at Carrick-on-Shannon and Ballinamore, both in county Leitrim.
18. Arthur Cooper, a Dublin merchant, shot dead as a military lorry was passing.

REPRISALS (OFFICIAL)

14. Fourteen houses in county Tipperary destroyed, with the furniture of another, by order of the competent military authority, who describes the occupiers as "active supporters of armed rebels, especially of the 3rd Tipperary Brigade I.R.A., which resided in this area and has admitted responsibility for the brutal murder of D. I. Potter." (District Inspector Potter was "executed" on April 27 by the I.R.A., in retaliation for the hanging of Thomas Traynor, a rebel.)
16. Two houses in Pembroke Street, Tralee (Kerry), blown up with their furniture as reprisal for the murder of Head Constable Benson. A third house was accidentally destroyed during the operation.
One house and the furniture of another destroyed at Clonakilty (Cork) on the grounds that "their owners are supporters of armed rebels."

REPRISALS (UNOFFICIAL)

14. Five houses burned and two others raided and damaged in the Spiddal district (Galway) after an ambush.
16. (For murder of D. I. Blake, his wife, and two army officers.) Nine houses destroyed or damaged in the neighborhood of Ballyturin (Galway). Curfew officially imposed from 8 p.m. to 4.30 a.m. and all businesses ordered to be closed.
Two houses destroyed near Athy (Kildare) as reprisal for an ambush at Ballinarea the same day.
Edmond Mountaine's house at Youghal (Cork) burned down.

NEW OFFICIAL ORDERS

14. Two Catholic priests arrested for ignoring summons to attend a military court at Limerick.
16. Two Cork shopkeepers ordered by the Military Governor to close their shops until further orders, as information had been received that the premises were used for illegal purposes by rebels.
Fairs and markets prohibited at Kinsale (Cork) and in the rural and urban districts of Roscommon.

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17. Typed notices posted in Tralee (Kerry) ordering suspension of all business in Tralee and six miles beyond until further notice. One member of each household in Tralee was ordered to attend the Head Constable's funeral. (Head Constable Benson was killed in Tralee on Saturday. On the 17th the officer commanding the troops authorized the resumption of business, adding that notices not signed by him were unauthorized.)
19. (As punishment for burning of military stores.) All road transport in and out of Millstreet (Cork) prohibited, and all shops and houses closed for three days.
General Headquarters, Dublin, announced that in future no parole will be accepted for any imprisoned or interned members of the I.R.A. in consequence of one prisoner having broken his parole.

Other Irish Crime

Unidentified Outrages

12. Cashier of Blackpool Flax Factory, Cork, robbed of £700.
13. John McGee, of Greenore (Louth), taken out and shot dead. (A policeman was wounded in an ambush in the neighborhood on the previous Sunday.)
16. Pleasure party of Cork University students fired on during a steamer trip in the bay. Three women and one man wounded.
18. Civilian shot dead in a Cork suburb.
19. Two civilians wounded at Letterkenny (Donegal).
Joseph Hayden murdered in bed at Rock (Tyrone); his brother dangerously wounded.
Arthur Bardon found murdered at Dundrum (Dublin).

The Election Fever in Ulster

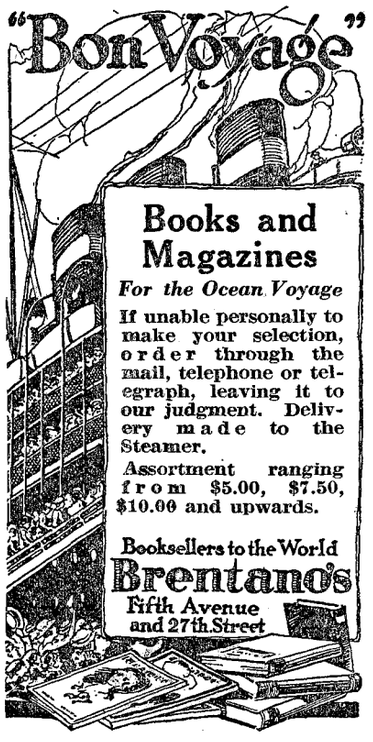
14. Intermittent conflicts in Belfast between Nationalists and Unionists; one youth reported wounded.
16. Girl wounded in rioting following a Sinn Fein meeting in North Queen Street, Belfast.
Several acts of intimidation against Sinn Fein sympathizers in Tyrone reported.
Robert Moore, a trade-union secretary, assaulted in his office in Belfast.
Independent Labor candidates in Belfast elections driven out of the Ulster Hall by Orange shipyard workers who had seized the hall beforehand. Sir James Craig wired approvingly, "Well done, the yards." A Catholic and a journalist representing an English liberal paper were roughly handled in the meeting. The labor candidates were compelled to cancel their later meetings.
18. Faction riots in the Newtownards Road district of Belfast; one man killed and several wounded.
19. More riots in Belfast; four persons wounded.

Although the following list is shorter than that for the week ending May 19, this fact should not be taken as an indication of improved conditions since the previous week was one of abnormal outrage.

Sinn Fein

Attacks on Crown Forces

May 19. Military sentry attacked at Bray (Dublin).
Three constables wounded at Kilbrittain (Cork).
Police patrol attacked at Rosslea (Fermanagh).
20. Police ambushed in county Mayo. Constable Beckett killed and Head Constable Cotter dangerously wounded; four rebels killed and five wounded and captured.
Auxiliary motor-wagon bombed in Bolton Street, Dublin; one cadet, one civilian, and a baby wounded.
Military dispatch rider fired at near Dublin, and later robbed of his cycle and documents.
Two constables murdered at Killeter (Longford).
One constable killed and three wounded in an ambush near Ballymahon (Longford).
Police attacked at Kinnebad (Westmeath).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Soldiers bombed at Queenstown (Cork); a naval pensioner wounded seriously, others slightly.

21. Sergeant McDonagh, R.I.C., killed in an ambush near Greencastle (Tyrone).
Sergeant Anderson, a veteran R.I.C. bandmaster, shot dead at Hampton (Dublin).
R.I.C. patrol fired on near Adara (Donegal); one constable wounded.
Death of Constable Kearney, wounded on the 15th after the murder of D. I. Blake, his wife, and two army officers at Ballyturin (Galway).
Two marines killed and two wounded at Ballyvaughan (Galway).
Officer wounded in ambush of a military tender near Foxrock golf links (Dublin).
Three youths injured in the bombing of a motor-car, carrying officers in mufti, in Cork.
Two constables ambushed in the Mullingar district (Westmeath); the rebel leader reported captured.

22. One constable wounded in an ambush at Edgeworthstown (Longford); a woman also wounded.
Three soldiers of the K.O.S.B. murdered and one wounded at Castletownbere (Cork). With two others who escaped they were held up by armed men, put with their backs to a ditch, and shot.

23. Constable killed in a fight near Newport (Mayo) which lasted several hours; District Inspector Monroe wounded. One rebel reported killed and several wounded.
Bombs thrown at a lorry carrying Crown forces in Lower Mount Street, Dublin.
Shots fired at two military dispatch riders in Thomas Street, Dublin; two civilians wounded by the shots.
Police ambushed at Banteer (Cork).
Two constables wounded in an ambush at Keash (Sligo).

24. Three ambushes in Dublin. A Ford car carrying Auxiliaries was attacked in Hatch Street and in the return fire two of the attackers were seen to fall. Near St. Stephen's Green a military lorry was bombed and a civilian wounded by a bomb splinter. Dr. Kennedy Cahill and another civilian were wounded during the ambushing of a military lorry near Merrion Row.
Motor-lorry belonging to the Navy and Army Canteen Board set on fire at City Quay, Dublin.
Auxiliaries ambushed at Banteer (Cork).
District Inspector White wounded at Ballina (Mayo). Next morning Thomas Howley was dangerously wounded by Crown forces when running away from a house in the neighborhood.
Police and military ambushed near Wexford.
Shots fired at police at Naas (Kildare). Ten civilians in motor-cars afterwards arrested.

25. Two soldiers stationed at Charleville (Cork) reported missing since the 23rd.

CIVILIANS MURDERED OR WOUNDED

19. Thomas McEver a chemist, murdered at Coolin Bridge and labeled "Convicted Spy: Traitors Beware.—I.R.A."
Postmaster at Tullow (Carlow) wounded in an attempt to rob the post office.

20. Daniel Hawkins, his son Edward, and John Sherlock kidnapped in Cork; Edward Hawkins killed, the others wounded. Edward Hawkins and Sherlock had been employed by the military.
John Byrne, a cripple, attacked in Jervis Street, Dublin, and dangerously wounded. On the following day the hospital in which he lay was raided, and Byrne was taken out on a stretcher and murdered.

21. A land steward at Ballintemple (Carlow) wounded while resisting a raid on his house for arms.

22. Leslie Frazer, an ex-soldier, fatally shot in Dublin.

24. Patrick Broady murdered at Mullahone (Cavan). His body was labeled "Spies and informers beware.—I.R.A."

POLICE BARRACKS ATTACKED

20. Tiermaclane (Clare).
Oola (Limerick).

21. Glenties (Donegal).

22. Athy (Kildare).
Kilmoovy.

23. Clonakilty (Cork).

24. Ballyragget (Kilkenny).
Oxford.
Ballylongford (Kerry).

OTHER SINN FEIN OPERATIONS

19. Ulster Bank in Tullamore (King's County) raided and the manager wounded.
Notices posted in Arklow (Wicklow) calling for a police boycott and asserting that it would be no sin to shoot them.
Francis M. Mahon, an ex-soldier, kidnapped in Cork.
Railway bridge blown up at Rigsdale (Cork).
House of Charles Daly, a Protestant farmer, burned at Skibbereen (Cork).

20. Six hundred pounds stolen from two Dublin banks—the Ulster Bank and the Belfast Bank, both in Lower Baggot Street.

21. Trees felled, roads trenched, and a bridge demolished near Dundalk (Louth) by residents acting under the compulsion of armed civilians.

22. Attempt to burn Cork Post Office.

23. Northern Bank at Shercock (Cavan) robbed of £4,000.
Military ambulance burned in Crane Street, Dublin.

25. Two Sinn Fein prisoners escaped from Athlone military barracks (Westmeath).
Dublin Custom House burned down: £1,000,000 damage. Many of the rebels who had fired the building were trapped inside it. In the fighting which followed 8 civilians were reported killed, 10 wounded, and 111 captured. Four Auxiliaries were wounded. Twelve Government departments were housed in the building, and nearly all their documents and records were destroyed.

CROWN FORCES

SHOOTINGS, ETC., BY CROWN FORCES

19. Patrick Stafford wounded at Enniscorthy (Wexford) for "failing to halt."

20. A young woman accidentally knocked down and killed in Dublin by tender driven by Crown forces.
Edward Watkins knocked down and badly injured by an armored car while cycling in Belfast.
William Bourke killed near Ballyhooly (Fermoy) for "failing to halt."

21. One man wounded and captured by military in an encounter near Clonmel (Tipperary).
A Dutch ship's fireman, unaware of the significance of "curfew," shot by troops in Cork. His wounds made it necessary to amputate his leg.
Unknown civilian wounded in Cork for "failing to halt."
A youth wounded at Clonmel (Tipperary) for "failing to halt."
Patrick Creamer wounded at Rhebogue (Limerick) for "failing to halt."
John Quinn killed and Patrick Walsh dangerously wounded at Kilmanagh (Kilkenny). Both are said to have been "on the run." The official report says that the village was occupied by 300 rebels and declared a "military area." They decamped on the approach of Crown forces, and the two men were shot in an encounter next morning.

22. Patrick Keating fatally wounded after 8 p. m. curfew in Cork for "failing to halt."
One civilian shot dead and two wounded at Upperchurch (Tipperary) for "failing to halt."
Patrick O'Rourke shot dead at Lissycasey (Clare) for "failing to halt."

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Four men on the staff of the *Cork Examiner* attacked with bombs and rifles or revolvers at 3:30 a. m. while going home after the night's work. Stephen Dorman killed; C. P. Walsh and F. Murphy wounded. Dorman was described in the obituary notice as a member of the I. R. A.

Thomas Morgan accidentally shot dead in a public-house at Drogheda (Louth). A policeman was explaining to him the mechanism of a revolver when it went off.

24. A girl shop assistant at Clones (Monaghan) accidentally shot dead by one of the Crown forces.

Constable Rogerson, R. I. C., accidentally wounded by a comrade at Castleblaney (Monaghan).

Civilians caught wrecking a bridge near Tralee (Kerry); one killed and two wounded.

REPRISALS (OFFICIAL)

19. Three farms destroyed as retaliation for the murder of D. I. Biggs and Miss Barrington at Colboreen (Tipperary) on the 14th.

Three houses destroyed in the Midleton district (Cork) in consequence of recent attacks on Crown forces.

20. (For killing of one constable and wounding of two others on the 15th.) Four houses and the furniture of a fifth destroyed in the Bansha district (Tipperary). Houses burned at Newtown (Cork).

21. Houses destroyed by military at Buncrana (Donegal). (Military property had been burned and roads blocked lately in the district.)

22. Two houses burned in Clonakilty district (Cork) as official reprisals.

23. Four houses demolished with bombs at Cahirciveen (Kerry) as reprisals for recent ambushes. "During the operations an aeroplane flew over the town and dropped leaflets." Curfew imposed from 9 p. m. to 6 a. m.

Property of three persons burned in the Bandon district (Cork).

REPRISALS (UNOFFICIAL)

19. (For wounding of District Inspector McGovern at Wexford.) Drapery shop of Edward J. Foley, a county councilor, burned down during Curfew hours.

23. Two houses and some barns burned at Corofin and Castlehacket (Galway); six orphans were turned out of one house before it was fired.

24. House burned at Philipstown (King's County). . . .

OTHER IRISH CRIME

UNIDENTIFIED OUTRAGES

19. Mary Fahy murdered in her house at Tullamore (King's County).

22. Shots fired into house of George Cross, at Kilternan (Dublin).

Patrick O'Brien found dying at Coolcappa (Limerick) near a culvert of which the destruction had been attempted.

24. Peter Murphy wounded by a bullet fired into his house at Cork.

Patrick Hickey shot dead at Enniskean (Cork).

CROWN FORCES

22. Anti-Partition meeting near Enniskillen (Fermanagh) stopped by police. A similar meeting at Treemore (Fermanagh) forbidden.

23. Rioting renewed in Belfast.

24. Special constables returning from election duty ambushed near Dungannon (Tyrone). One wounded and two unwounded assailants captured.

Many assaults on anti-Partition election workers and voters in Belfast. In the East End houses were looted and their contents burned, with numerous conflicts and casualties.

25. More riots in Belfast: Thomas Reilly shot dead.

Ballot-box escort ambushed near Plumbridge (Tyrone); one policeman and one attacker wounded.

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